774 lameness.[33] For fear of this soul nobody ever eats in the dark or allows a sick person to be in a dark room (J.T., N.D.).

The Delawares believed in an after life, but what this existence was
775 like is only vaguely described in the early literature and probably was
only vaguely envisaged by them. De Vries said that "when they die they
sing like the ravens; but this singing is entirely different from the sing-
ing of angels."[34] One source stated that "some" believed that after a
soul had been in the other world for a time it might be reborn on earth
in another individual.[35] Harrington said that on the twelfth day after
death the spirit made its way to the twelfth or highest home, a beautiful
place, without pain or sorrow, where there were magnificent dwellings,
beautiful streams, and fertile lands. This paradise was only for the
good; where bad or evil spirits went is unknown.[36] This concept was in
all likelihood a diffusion from Christianity.

The Big House Ceremony

The Big House or Annual Ceremony has been the principal ceremony
114 and the focal point of Delaware religious observances at least since the
668 second half of the eighteenth century. Prior to the tribal consolidation
of the Delawares (in the early decades of the eighteenth century), this
796 Ceremony could not have existed as it is now known, since in its modern
form it is a tribal or national religious event. I do not agree with
Kinietz that the Big House Ceremony came into existence as an adjunct
of the revivalistic nativism of the Delawares after 1762.[37] It seems
much more likely that it was synthesized during the early decades of
the century at the time when other parts of the culture were being uni-
fied and the tribal society was emerging. As far as I have been able to
determine, the import and the meaning of this ceremony have not been
nativistic as would be required by Kinietz's hypothesis. Its general
purpose was to give thanks for past blessings and to ensure good for-
796 tune for the coming year.[38] Morgan said: "They believe unless they
observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will loose (sic) the
177 favor of the Great Spirit."[39] I agree with Kinietz that "European civili-
zation in contact with that of the Delawares was unconsciously responsi-
ble for the integration of the Big House Ceremony, the dropping and
addition of many features . . . ,"[40] but I set the date for this integration
half a century earlier than he does. The addition of the symbolic num-
ber twelve (from the twelve Apostles of Christianity?), the sacred num-
ber of the sweat lodge, and the appearance of the Mask Being during the
ceremony are but two examples of historic additions to the ceremony.[41]

Unfortunately, the seventeenth-century documents contain little more
796 than hints concerning the nature of the religious rites from which the
the Big House Ceremony was synthesized. Denton, however, said:

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[33] Speck, 1931, p. 25; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131; J.T.

[34] De Vries, 1909, p. 224.

[35] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131.

[36] Harrington, 1921, pp. 52-54.

[37] Kinietz, 1940, pp. 117-21.

[38] Speck, 1931, p. 21; R.W., O.A.

[39] Morgan, 1859, MS.

[40] Kinietz, 1940, p. 121.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

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> For their worship which is diabolical, it is performed usually but once or twice a year, unless upon some extraordinary occasion, as upon making of war or the like; their usual time is about *Michaelmass*, when their corn is first ripe, the day being appointed by their chief Priest or pawaw, most of them go a hunting for venison: When they are all congregated, their priest tells them if he want money, their God will accept of no other offering, which the people believing, every one gives money according to their ability.[42] 796

This is the sort of description of a pretribal ceremony which one would expect from a seventeenth-century writer. The hunt for venison and the use of wampum were, for example, integral features of the later Big House Ceremony. Speck has suggested that the historic form of the ceremony developed from "rites managed by the ceremonial group (Turkey, Tortoise, Wolf)" which, in turn, developed from family or individual rites.[43] In historic times each phratry varied somewhat from [615] the others in the performance of the ceremony; that of the Wolf phratry, for instance, lasted only eight days, whereas the ceremony of the Turkey phratry lasted twelve days.[44] In a sense, then, the ceremony never attained complete tribal integration. Since Speck's studies of the Big House Ceremony are relatively complete and are complemented by those of Zeisberger, Trowbridge, and Harrington, and by the eyewitness account by Luckenbach, it is not necessary here to give a detailed description of the historic ceremony; a brief synopsis taken from the accounts of these writers and from the descriptions given by my own informants should suffice.

After the Big House Ceremony became a tribal affair, it was held [344 346] but once a year. It took place in a "big house," a building which also served as a council house and was similar in structure to the Iroquoian Long House. In the center of this structure was a pole, on the north and south sides of which were carved faces;[45] ten other identical faces were placed around the walls. Apparently this was the practice before 1763.[46] The participants camped near the Big House for the duration of the ceremony, the women to the north and the men to the south (M.B.). Throughout this period celibacy was practiced, participants were supposed [784] to be in a pure and clean frame of mind, and menstruating women were not allowed inside the Big House. Offenders were removed from the building by the Mask Being or other officials.[47] One individual, known as the "bringer-in," sponsored and led the ceremony, and the phratry to which he belonged determined the exact form the ceremony was to take. One source stated that in each phratry there was a family which inherited the right to sponsor the annual ceremony;[48] possibly this was a vestige of the individual or family rites from which it evolved.

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[42] Denton, 1845, p. 7.

[43] Speck, 1950, p. 27.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 16; Harrington, 1913, p. 230.

[45] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 141.

[46] Kinietz, 1940, p. 118, dates this feature after 1824, but Bartram and Kenny apparently saw such a ceremonial structure in August, 1761 (Kenny, 1913, p. 22).

[47] Trowbridge MS; M.B.

[48] Trowbridge MS.

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●796 The ceremonies commenced, at least in historic times, when the caretakers lighted the fires in the Big House with a fire drill. Kinietz has suggested that this act became sacred in post-European times.[49] Sometime after dark the chief of the sponsoring phratry delivered a sermon in which the Great Spirit was thanked for success during the preceding year, and he also explained the rules of the meeting.[50] The meeting was then turned over to the "bringer-in":

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> [Standing] by the great central post with its weird carved faces, [he] begins to shake a little rattle of box-turtle shell and chant, in a high monotone, the story of his vision. Meanwhile two drummers have taken their places before a peculiar drum made by rolling up a dry deer-hide and stuffing it with grass. As the chanter utters each word the drummers repeat it in the same tone, producing a very peculiar effect. Finally the recital is finished, and he starts his dance-song, which the drummers take up, beating time with flat drumsticks and dances about the fires, still shaking his rattle, followed by as many of the people as care to join.[51]

The dance was in a counterclockwise direction, and the dancer stopped at twelve spots in this circuit, each time reciting a verse of the song he had composed from his vision. The path that was followed by all those who recited their visions represented allegorically the White Path or the Great Spirit's road, the road of human existence, and the stages the soul took to the abode of the Great Spirit.[52] As was noted previously, the number twelve and perhaps the inferred idea of heaven may have represented diffusions from Christianity.

After the leader had finished his recitation, two caretakers symbolically swept the chamber with turkey feathers and built up the fire. There was then a brief recess in which people could go outside (R.W.). Following the recess, the rattle was passed from hand to hand in a counterclockwise direction until it reached another man who desired to recite his vision.[53] Toward morning, when the rattle had made a complete circuit of the Big House, twelve cries or calls were uttered. The 796 twelfth cry was thought to be heard by the Great Spirit.[54] A feast was then held, and afterwards the throng dispersed until the following evening. (Trowbridge alone among the sources said that the worshippers remained throughout the day in the Big House, preserving silence.) On each of the succeeding nights the ritual was the same, although there may have been some variation in the persons who recited their visions, and on the fourth day deer were hunted to supply venison for a feast to be held on the seventh day.[55] At noon on the final day of the ceremony the participants filed out and formed a line facing the east. They raised their hands and twelve times called out the prayer word to the Great Spirit. The caretakers then swept the ashes from the fires out the west door of the Big House, the leader paid them in wampum for their services, and thus the ceremony was concluded.[56] 796

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[49] Kinietz, 1940, p. 121; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 30.

[50] Speck, 1931, p. 23.

[51] Harrington, 1913, pp. 228-29.

[52] Speck, 1931, p. 23.

[53] Harrington, 1921, p. 95; R. W.

[54] Harrington, 1913, p. 229.

[55] Harrington, 1921, pp. 97-100; O.A., R.W.

Minor Ceremonies

There must have been a host of minor family and other kin-group religious ceremonies in early times, but unfortunately the seventeenth-century sources are for the most part silent about them. Denton, however, said:

> At their *Canticas* or dancing matches, where all persons that come are freely entertained, it being a Festival time: Their custom is when they dance, every one but the Dancers to have a short stick in their hands & to knock the ground & sing altogether, whilst they that dance sometimes act war-like postures, & then they come in painted for War with their faces black & red, with some streaks of white under their eyes, & so jump & leap up & down without any order, uttering many expressions of their intended valour. For other dances they only shew what Antick tricks their ignorance will lead them to, swinging of their bodies & faces after a strange manner, sometimes jumping into the fire, sometimes catching up a Firebrand, & biting off a live coal, with many such tricks, that will affright....[57] 796 535

Zeisberger described a number of minor religious ceremonies which probably are similar to those of the earlier period. Of the five ceremonials he mentioned, the first was a description of the Big House Ceremony; in the second, men danced in a breech clout and were "daubed all over with white clay."[58] In the third, tanned deerskins were given to ten or more old men and women, who wrapped themselves in these skins, stood in front of the Big House, faced east, and prayed. In this ceremony wampum was thrown on the ground, and the children scrambled for it.[59] The fourth was a feast of bear's flesh and melted fat, in which the large quantities consumed brought on vomiting and indigestion. Speck mentioned this ceremony "as a definite rite intended for the placation of the bear," and recounted the mythological tale responsible for its origin.[60] The fifth ceremony was a sweat bath held in the Big House. A sweat house, framed with twelve poles of diverse woods, was set up inside the Big House and was covered with blankets. "These twelve poles represent twelve Manittos, some of these being creatures, others plants."[61] After a meal a fire was built in the entrance of the sweat lodge, and twelve stones were heated and placed inside. Twelve pipes full of tobacco were thrown on the hot stones; twelve people then entered and remained as long as they were able. During this ceremony 796

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[56] Harrington, 1913, pp. 228-30; 1921, p. 85; Trowbridge MS.

[57] Denton, 1845, p. 9.

[58] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 137-38.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 138; Harrington, 1921, p. 109, and the Trowbridge MS. stated that this ceremony concluded the Big House Ceremony; Post and Hayes noted these details in the observance of an annual ceremony on May 24-27, 1760 (Hayes, 1954, pp. 74-76).

[60] Speck, 1937, pp. 30-43.

[61] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 138.

796 "a whole buck-skin with the head and antlers is raised upon a pole, head and antlers resting on the pole, before which the Indians sing and pray."[62] Speck noted that the sweat lodge was erected in the Big House in the Wolf phratry ceremony and that "the sweating rite was held as a test of endurance for the men who had spiritual guidance."[63] Zeisberger also stated that there was a number of less important ceremonies arranged by individuals.[64]

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A minor ceremony, continued until the twentieth century but unrecorded in the earlier literature except for a casual reference by Zeisberger, was the "Otter-Hog Dance."[65] This rite had to be given every few years by a certain family or else bad luck ensued (O.A.). 777 The leader of this dance wore an otter hide which stretched from his head down his back to the ground. Special songs were sung, and the meat of the largest procurable hog was consumed during the dance. The hog's head was carried around in a pan by the leader during the dance and at the conclusion of the ceremony was consigned to the flames (O.A.). Harrington mentioned this ceremony and gave an origin myth for it, but his informants did not remember the dance itself.[66] Speck has also described this "Grease Drinking, or Otter Ceremony."[67]

Another series of minor ceremonies consisted of the Doll Dances. 532 These dances probably originated in prehistoric times, but were not recorded in the early documents. The dolls seem to have had their origin in the visions of women and were passed down through the maternal line.[68] Doll owners had to give their dolls annual dances, usually in the spring. The doll was tied to a stick and the dancers carried it during the all-night ceremony. Both sexes participated; men danced in an inner circle, the women in an outer. They danced around a fire on either side of which two poles had been raised. The drum used in this ceremony was the "package" drum used in the Big House Ceremony (O.A., M.B., J.T., J.W.). Twelve songs were sung in the course of the ceremony, followed by a pause for a feast in which various corn dishes prepared by the owner of the doll were eaten. After this meal the songs were repeated, and just before dawn cornbread was scattered on the ground and was picked up and eaten by the dancers. Speck said that a Doll Dance "embodies the idea of appeasing the latent ill-will of the Spirit of Corn, aroused through innocent familiarity incurred in the past between the children of certain families and this sensitive Manitto."[69] Harrington described the Doll dances, but his description varies somewhat from mine.[70]

There were undoubtedly other dances and feasts, including first fruits rites,[71] given at different seasons by various family or other kin groups. The Mask Being was "feasted" annually (J.T.). Speck described a number of other feasts and dances including "The Mask Dance Ceremony," an "Opossum Dance Ceremony," the "Buffalo Dance Ceremony" (apparently a recent diffusion to the Delawares), a "Corn Harvest Ceremony," and "The Spring Prayer and Football Ceremony to Advance Vegetation."[72] 796

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[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39; Kenny, 1913, pp. 196-97.

[63] Speck, 1937, p. 21.

[64] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 140.

[65] Zeisberger, 1871, p. 344.

[66] Harrington, 1921, pp. 176-82.

[67] Speck, 1937, pp. 44-48.

[68] The section on Mythology describes several origin tales for the Doll Dances.

[69] Speck, 1937, p. 61.

[70] Harrington, 1921, pp. 164-71.

[71] Hayes, 1954, p. 70 (first deer killed after an annual ceremony, on June 9, 1760); Loskiel, 1794, p. 40; Brickell, 1842, p. 49.

Shamans

There were two kinds of shamans, one devoted to curing and the other to divination.[73] Heckewelder distinguished the Medeu, or the individual associated with curing, from the Powwow or Juggler, who was higher in rank and was skilled in divination and magic.[74] The members of the latter group, according to Harrington, were organized into societies, but Trowbridge denied this, and there is no other confirmation to be found for the existence of societies. They probably represent a diffusion from the Iroquois to the Canadian Delawares.[75] Shamans might be of either sex and were generally old. Among their activities were weather forecasting, rain making, the preparation of "medicine" for hunters who were down on their luck, and curing. They also make "philters or love potions for such married persons as either do not, or think they cannot, love each other."[76] Before they performed their services, shamans had to be paid in wampum, tobacco, dressed deerskins, or the like. They wore costumes when treating the sick, and a tortoise shell rattle, dancing, singing, and "mumbling" were always a part of their performance.[77] 756 761

Lindestrom in the seventeenth century said that the "curing" shaman "runs back and forth, cries so that he is heard a long way off, rolls himself naked into the burning fire, takes fire brands with which he builds a wall all around the sick one, the sick one enduring such with patience."[78] Denton said of shamans: 765

> When any person is sick, after the means used by his friend, every one pretending skill in Physick, that proving ineffectual they send for a Pawaw or Priest, who sitting down by the sick person without the least enquiring after the distemper, waits for a gift which he proportions his work accordingly to: that being received, he first begins with a low voice to call upon his God, calling sometimes upon one sometimes on another, raising his voice higher & higher, beating of his naked breasts & sides, till the sweat runneth down, & his breath is almost gone, then that little which is remaining, he evaporates upon the face of the sick person three or four times together & so takes his leave.[79]

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[72] Speck, 1937, pp. 49-87.

[73] Brainerd, 1884, p. 131; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 236; Brinton, 1885, pp. 70-71.

[74] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 228 ff.

[75] Harrington, 1913, p. 217; Trowbridge MS.

[76] Harrington, 1913, p. 232; N.D.

[77] Harrington, 1913, pp. 232-34; M.B.

[78] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 248.

[79] Denton, 1845, pp. 8-9; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 232-33, described the performance in similar terms.

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conservative, distrustful of whites, and, in general, less acculturated than others who are young, literate, moderately educated, progressive, and well assimilated. There is an antipeyote faction, and even within the peyote faction there is a schism between the Big Moon and Little Moon adherents. These various factions promote discord, so much so that any unified tribal activity is virtually impossible. The Delawares are, then, no longer a distinct social group. Delaware society has disappeared, although allegiance to a number of the ancient culture traits lingers.

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The most notable remnant of socioreligious organization still perpetuated by both Oklahoma Delaware communities is the phratry. Adults still acknowledge membership in one or more of the phratries. Membership was originally determined by descent in the female line, but this is no longer true; a person inherits membership in both his mother's and father's phratry, so that many individuals consider themselves to be "half and half." An individual can belong to no more than two of the three phratries. Consequently, it is apparent that if this method of reckoning membership is carried on for many generations most people will belong to two of the three phratries. There is no memory of any other system of reckoning membership. Obviously, the shift in the method of determining phratry membership has been caused by the emphasis on the paternal line in American society. At least among the Cherokee-Delawares the pressure has not been strong enough to shift the system from simple matrilineal reckoning all the way to patrilineal, as in our patronymics; it has gone but an illogical part way. Phratry membership originally depended upon clan ties, but there is no knowledge of them today in either Delaware community. The conclusion is inescapable that the clan organization disappeared before the Delawares left Kansas.

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An interesting factor contributing to the eventual extinction of Delaware culture and also to social heterogeneity is found in present marriage restrictions. It is considered incestuous for a person to marry anyone to whom he is related, however remotely. This means that in both Oklahoma communities the young Delaware boys and girls cannot marry other Delawares, since everybody is considered to be related to everyone else. Some of the feelings about this point were: "The young people are disgusted, can't find anybody they're not kin to" (O.A.). "We're disappearing as fast as we can 'cause we got nobody to marry" (O.A.). "It's awful when you marry kinfolks" (M.B.). Briefly, one generation hence there will be no person who is more than half Delaware biologically, and probably none more than half sociologically. (This subject is taken up more fully under Pan-Indianism.) Within the last several decades the Delawares have taken to marrying legally and are completely assimilated in this respect.

Religious Assimilation

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Big House Ceremony. — Without a doubt the most tenacious and unchanging elements in Delaware culture, aside from language, have been

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in religion. According to Speck's exhaustive monograph composed from one informant's data on the Big House Ceremony in the early 1930's, the last full or "real" ceremony was held during the fall of 1924.[5] Since the Delawares knew that this ceremony was in danger of dying out, they attempted to put young people in "important positions" and in positions of leadership (R.W.). An abbreviated Big House Ceremony was, in fact, performed during the second World War.[6]

The wartime Big House Ceremonies were held three times: in the spring of 1944, the following fall, and just before the conclusion of the European War in the spring of 1945. The traditional season for the ceremony was the fall, but two of these meetings were held in the spring. R.W. said that the first one was held in the spring because of the seriousness of the war. No explanation was given for the final spring meeting. The meetings were held in order to induce the supernatural powers to provide a quick victory for the United States and to ensure the return of the Delaware soldiers unharmed. The purpose of the meetings, then, was within the traditional pattern. Many people remain convinced of the efficacy of these meetings; after all, the War was over shortly after the last meeting, and no Delaware servicemen were killed on the fields of battle.

The wartime ceremonies were held on a farm a few miles north of Dewey. The Big House itself was built of bark and canvas and was an arbor rather than a house (O.A.). The old log "church" or "meeting house" fell into disrepair sometime after the ceremony of 1924, and no trace of it exists today. The carved heads (Mesingkwa) and other paraphernalia had been removed and sold to museums by J.F.[7] Joe Washington was the leader, at least during the last two meetings; other men who played important parts were Ben Hill, Jim Thompson, and Reuben Wilson. Joe Washington tried to arouse interest and continuance of the ceremony by explaining in the Delaware language what they were doing and why they were doing it. This attempt was rewarded with little success.

The Delawares did not camp at the Big House, as was customary, but came to the ceremonies every evening. It was said that "lots of the younger people didn't go." They failed to attend either because they thought it "silly" or because they did not understand the Delaware language very well (O.A.). Vision recital, as was customary, played the principal role in the wartime ceremonies. Reuben Wilson, Joe Washington, Ben Hill, and perhaps others recited either their own or traditional visions. The vision recital of these men was ridiculed; it was said that although they might have had visions, they did not have the "power" that the traditional visions gave. In short, "they just went through the motions." "Although they knowed the songs they didn't have the right (spiritual) power" (J.T.). Women traditionally were seldom blessed with visions, but the few who had had them were allowed to recite them on the final day of the ceremony. At the time of the wartime meetings there were no women left who had had visions. Perhaps this is why they were called upon to offer prayers instead. 177* 796

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[5] Speck, 1931, p. 18; F. W., O.A., R.W.

[6] The Anadarko Delawares never performed the Big House Ceremony. The following account refers only to the Cherokee-Delawares.

[7] I have seen ceremonial equipment in the Philbrook Art Center in Tulsa which supposedly came from the Big House. Other material has found its way into the collections of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

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There was friction in at least one of the meetings since the leader, J.W., sold the scarce, virtually sacred wampum donated by other Delawares. The people who purchased the wampum were frequently strangers or curiosity seekers; they were seldom donors. Friction also occurred when some peyotists prayed in their fashion. One individual said of this friction: 177* 796 795 578

> Ben Hill asked people to get up and pray — to pray to the fire. Nobody did for awhile so I got up. I prayed like a white preacher does, but in Indian. I prayed to the fire, and asked that all the boys be returned safely. I prayed that my boy would come back safe. I went on praying and I got to crying. Then I sat down. Then E. J. got up and prayed the same way, then a man. After that T.M. got up and said he didn't believe you could pray that way in this meeting. I felt so funny, I was crushed. I didn't go back after that. (O.A.)

The form of prayer that O.A. described is common in the local version of the Big Moon peyote cult, with the exception that in the peyote ceremony the prayer is accompanied by the smoking of a Bull Durham cornhusk cigarette. 276

Even with what little is known about the wartime Big House ceremonies it is plain that they were more a reflection of the old rites than a faithful duplication of them. They lasted twelve days, visions were recited, some venison was eaten, but in almost every other respect they were changed. The few young people who attended did not know where to sit; even if they knew their phratry membership they probably did not know where that phratry belonged in the meeting house. The arbor was a poor substitute for the log Big House; there was room for only one fire, and the carved heads were missing. There could be no hunt for deer, because there were no deer. In one meeting O.A. persuaded a rancher to contribute a deer, but it was impossible to feed the participants for twelve days with one deer. 177* 796

After 1924 the Big House Ceremony withered away. It was briefly revived because of the stimulus of the second world war, but this revival was only a dim reflection of the original ceremony. Joe Washington and Ben Hill, the spark plugs of the wartime meetings, are dead. The few remaining participants who are familiar with the ritual are old and are not imparting their knowledge to others; and many Delawares who formerly participated have focused their attentions on the peyote cult. Informants gave two reasons why they preferred peyotism to the traditional religious forms: first, peyotism is cheap, but in the Big House Ceremony the "Bringer-in" is primarily responsible for the cost which in 1930 was one hundred and fifty dollars.[8] In a peyote meeting the cost is negligible in comparison and is often shared by the participants. Second, only Delawares can participate in the Big House Ceremony, and individual Delawares often have only a few Delaware friends, 177* 795

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[8] Speck, 1931, p. 24.

*177 although they have many Indian friends of other tribes. Any Indian can participate in peyote meetings, and a few people can hold one, whereas 795 the Big House Ceremony requires a large co-operative group of people. Associated with the advantages of peyotism is the fact that the Delawares are even more scattered than they were during the war and would have a difficult time getting together for a twelve-day Big House Ceremony. The disintegration of the Big House Ceremony is regretted by many Delawares, but nothing is being done, or can be done, to revive it.

It is not entirely clear when most other elements of Delaware religion disappeared or were replaced. The reason for this is that no other ceremonies were as universal or as well known as the Big House Ceremony. Nevertheless, it is possible to make estimates which probably are reliable.

*177 Vision quest.—The Delawares no longer seek visions, and apparently few people have unsolicited visions. Informants frequently claim that 787 "no one can have visions because the earth is no longer clean" (M.B.), or that one has to be "morally clean" to obtain a vision (N.D.). Few people living in a white man's world can claim these virtues, informants add. No young people were encountered who had had visions, solicited or otherwise. Several middle-aged and old people claimed to have had visions, but their visions had not been solicited. The guardian spirit of one informant (R.W.), for instance, was the Mask Being. This deity had appeared when the man was in delirium following an automobile accident. The vision quest was probably declining in popularity before the Cherokee-Delawares reached Oklahoma and shortly thereafter disappeared entirely. Supernatural beings encountered in a peyote trance are not regarded as guardian spirits.

*177 Sweat bathing, Shamanism.—Sweat bathing disappeared among the Cherokee-Delawares during the early decades of this century. O.A. was 515 given a sweat bath as a child, as a cure for some childhood illness. Shamans often presided over sweat bathing, and the last Cherokee-Delaware shaman (Chief Elkhair) died almost two decades ago. M.B. of the Anadarko Delawares claimed that sweat baths were in vogue there until "a few years ago."

*177 Curing.—Although shamans and sweat bathing have passed into oblivion there is still secular knowledge and perhaps use of native medicines 757 and cures. These are useful in love, for fevers, hiccoughs, colic in children, and the like. One informant (N.D.), for example, had inherited from her mother some sort of animal foot plus rules and ritual which were used as "love medicine." N.D. used this magical device once successfully, but is reluctant to use it again. It is doubtful if she will pass these secrets along to her daughter. Peyote, government doctors, and hospitals seem to have supplemented native therapy — medicinal and supernatural — for more important illnesses.

*177 Doll Dance.—According to Kinietz, "The Doll Dance which was a family responsibility has not been held since 1929."[8] This agrees with 796 my information, although the last remaining doll owner had vowed to give a dance in the summer of 1951. The vow was probably brought on by the woman's illness but she died before the dance could take place At the present time the Cherokee-Delawares are in possession of only this one doll. All other dolls have been lost, given to missionaries, buried with their owners, or sold to museums. 177-4 796

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[8] Kinietz, 1946, p. 14.

Otter-Tail Dance.–This dance was unknown to the Anadarko Delawares, and it has been long defunct among the Cherokee-Delawares. O.A. saw it for the last time in 1902. According to her, the house in which the otter tail was kept burned down and the otter hide was destroyed, thus ending the dance.

Delaware Peyotism.–Petrullo has provided a description and analysis of the history and content of peyotism among the Delawares.[10] My concern, therefore is to indicate the importance and role of peyote in the religious assimilation of the Delawares, and also to describe what changes, if any, have taken place in Delaware peyotism since the time of Petrullo's investigation in 1929-30. 177-4 795

Peyote *(Lophophora williamsii)* is a spineless, carrot-shaped, grayish-green cactus, which in this country grows primarily in the lower Rio Grande Valley. When eaten, either green or dried, or drunk as tea, peyote has the property of heightening or sharpening the perception of color, form, and sound, or inducing visual and/or auditory hallucinations. A knowledge of the properties of peyote and its utilization in religious ceremonies antedates recorded history in Mexico. It was not until late in the nineteenth century, however, that knowledge of peyote and a new ceremonial use of it developed and spread widely among the demoralized reservation Indians of the United States. The modern peyote ceremony is essentially "a collective all-night vigil in which, through prayer, contemplation, and eating peyote, the peyotist receives a divine revelation."[11]

Peyotism was brought to the Cherokee-Delawares about 1885 by John Wilson, a part-Delaware from Anadarko. This man became a peyotist about 1880, and in subsequent years he converted many Delawares in the Anadarko and Dewey areas.[12] His influence spread far beyond tribal borders, however, and he has been called "the most significant figure in the diffusion of the religion in Oklahoma since 1885."[13] The John Wilson version of peyotism, variously termed Big Moon or Moonhead, is today the most important form of peyotism in number of adherents among the Cherokee-Delawares. The Anadarko Delawares also seem to favor a Big Moon variant. The more conservative, Little Moon version was introduced to the Cherokee-Delawares somewhat later than the Big Moon, and it still finds some adherents.[14] As far as being a causative agent in the decline and disappearance of traditional religion is concerned, peyote has played a negligible role. Many individuals practiced and believed in both religious creeds; Chief Elkhair,

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[10] Petrullo, 1934.

[11] LaBarre, *et al.*, 1951, pp. 582-83.

[12] Petrullo, 1934, p. 83.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 32; F.W.

668 794 God. Thus it appeared that through him Satan endeavored to rob the gospel of its power over the Indians.

As long as the preachers did not proclaim things evidently untrue they were held in great regard and had a considerable following withersoever they went, for they never remained long in one place, else their deception would have been revealed the sooner. They still preached in Gekelemukpechünk[304] when the Moravians came to the Muskingum. Soon thereafter they began to be too coarse, seeking to establish their teaching in opposition to the gospel. This brought about the end of their influence. One has since heard little of them and the most have died. For at the last they preached that whoever would believe in them and follow their direction would be happy in the chase and in all other undertakings, would be able to cross sea and land, would reap plenteous harvests even though little had been planted. The Indians who trusted in them soon saw that they had been deceived and that they had been brought to starvation by the treacherous preachers. Then the power of the latter was at an end.

782 796 Worship and sacrifices have obtained among them from the earliest times, being usages handed down from their ancestors. Though in the detail of ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time, worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.

[848] [669] In the matter of sacrifice, relationship, even though distant, is of significance, legitimate or illegitimate relationship being regarded without distinction. A sacrifice is offered by a family, with its entire relationship, once in two years. Others, even the inhabitants of other towns, are invited. Such sacrifices are commonly held in autumn, rarely in winter. As their connections are large, each Indian will have opportunity to attend more than one family sacrifice a year. The head of the family knows the time and he must provide for everything. When the head of such a family is converted, he gets into difficulty because his

friends will not give him peace until he has designated some one 782
to take his place in the arrangement for sacrificial feasts. 796

Preparations for such a sacrificial feast extend through several days. The requisite number of deer and bears is calculated and the young people are sent into the woods to procure them together with the leader whose care it is to see that everything needful is provided. These hunters do not return until they have secured the amount of booty counted upon. On their return they fire a volley when near the town, march in in solemn procession and deposit the flesh in the house of sacrifice. Meantime the house has been cleared and prepared. The women have prepared fire-wood and brought in long dry reed grass, which has been strewn the entire length of the house, on both sides, for the guests to sit upon. Such a feast may continue for three or four nights, the separate sessions beginning in the afternoon and lasting until the next morning. Great kettles full of meat are boiled and bread is baked. These are served to the guests by four servants especially appointed for this service. The rule is that whatever is thus brought as a sacrifice must be eaten altogether and nothing left.[303] A small quantity of melted fat only is poured into the fire. The bones are burnt, so that the dogs may not get any of them. After the meal the men and women dance, every rule of decency being observed. It is not a dance for pleasure or exercise, as is the ordinary dance engaged in by the Indians. One singer only performs during the dance, walking up and down, rattling a small tortoise shell filled with pebbles. He sings of the dreams the Indians have had, naming all the animals, elements and plants they hold to be spirits. None of the spirits of things that are useful to the Indians may be omitted. By worshipping all the spirits named they consider themselves to be worshipping God, who has revealed his will to them in dreams. When the first singer has finished he is followed by another. Between dances the guests may stop to [261] eat again. There are four or five kinds of feasts, the ceremonies of which differ much from one another.

In another kind of feast the men dance clad only in their 796
Breech-clout, their bodies being daubed all over with white clay. [302]

At a third kind of feast ten or more tanned deer-skins are
796 given to as many old men or women, who wrap themselves in
them and stand before the house with their faces turned toward
the east, praying God with a loud voice to reward their benefactors.
They turn toward the east because they believe that
God dwells beyond the rising of the sun. At the same time
much wampum is given away. This is thrown on the ground
and the young people scramble for it. Afterward it is ascertained
who secured the most. This feast is called *'ngammuin*,
the meaning of which they themselves are unable to give.

A fourth kind of feast is held in honor of a certain voracious
[776] spirit, who, according to their opinions, is never satisfied. The
guests are, therefore, obliged to eat all the bear's flesh and
drink the melted fat. Though indigestion and vomiting may
result they must continue and not leave anything.

A fifth kind of festival is held in honor of fire which the
[776] Indians regard as being their grandfather and call *Machtuzin*,
meaning "to perspire." A sweating-oven is built in the midst
796 of the house of sacrifice, consisting of twelve poles each of a
different species of wood. These twelve poles represent twelve
343 *Manittos*, some of these being creatures, others plants. These
[776] they run into the ground, tie together at the top, bending them
toward each other; these are covered entirely with blankets,
joined closely together, each person being very ready to lend
his blanket, so that the whole appears like a baker's oven, high
enough nearly to admit a man standing upright. After the
meal or sacrifice, fire is made at the entrance of the oven and
twelve large stones, about the size of human heads, are heated
and placed in the oven. Then twelve Indians creep into it and
remain there as long as they can bear the heat. While they
[276] are inside twelve pipes full of tobacco are thrown, one after another,
upon the hot stones which occasions a smoke almost
powerful enough to suffocate those confined inside. Some one
may also walk around the stones singing and offering tobacco,
for tobacco is offered to fire. Usually, when the twelve men
emerge from the oven, they fall down in a swoon. During this
feast a whole buck-skin with the head and antlers is raised upon
a pole, head and antlers resting on the pole, before which the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

Indians sing and pray. They deny that they pay any adoration 796
to the buck, declaring that God alone is worshipped through [343]
this medium and is so worshipped at his will.

At these feasts there are never less than four servants, to each of whom a fathom of wampum is given that they may care for all necessary things. During the three or four days they have enough to do by day and by night. They have leave, also, [443]
to secure the best of provisions, such as sugar, bilberries, molasses, eggs, butter and to sell these things at a profit to guests and spectators. Festivals are usually closed with a general [273]
drinking bout. There are always rum-sellers present on such occasions who make large profits. As a result of the drinking there are generally several fatalities, for, among the Indians that gather from various places, such as wish to work off an old score are ready to make use of the opportunity afforded by these occasions.

Besides these solemn feasts of sacrifice there are many of 796
less importance, for individuals arrange them on their own account. 782
They invite guests and prepare a feast of deer or bear's flesh. The guests consume the whole meal, the host and his family being mere spectators. At the great feasts all who are present partake of the food. Each individual may offer sacrifice for himself when engaged in the chase, in order that he may be successful. Having cut up a deer and divided it into many small pieces he scatters them about for the birds and crows that sit about on the trees waiting. Retiring to some distance the Indian will then amuse himself by observing in what manner they devour the prey. Another may offer to his *Manitto* for some other reason. Corn is said to be the wife of the Indian and to it they sacrifice bear's flesh. To the deer and bear they offer corn. To the fishes they bring an offering of small pieces of bread shaped in the form of fishes. If an Indian
hunter hears an owl screech in the night he immediately throws [825]
some tobacco into the fire, muttering a few words at the same time. Then they promise themselves success for the next day for the owl is said to be a powerful spirit. In dreams, they claim, it has been made known to them what creatures to regard as their *manittos* and what offerings to bring to them. Such

796 782 offerings are then regarded by God as rendered to him. It is clear enough that the Indians, professing to worship God and bringing sacrifices to him, serve Satan, who influences their dreams, and keeps them in slavery in this wise, for the Indians consider dreams to be of great importance and nothing less than revelations from God. It is indeed true as the Apostle says, 1 Cor. 10:20, "the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to the devils and not to God." Those among the Indians who have been converted recognize this and henceforth hold the Indian sacrifices and offerings to be vain and do not care to say much about them.

769 To the spirits of the dead they offer both meat and drink-offerings. If it is to be a meat offering, which the doctors must decide in case of illness or accident, either a hog or a bear is killed for a feast and guests are invited. The latter assemble in the house where the sacrifice is to be offered. An old man gives part of the meal to the enraged spirits, speaks with them, and begs them to be pacified. All this is done in the dark; there must be neither fire nor light. After the old man has communed with the spirits he tells the guests that they have been appeased.

If it is to be a drink offering rum is required. Guests are invited also. They drink together and some one speaks with the spirits and pacifies them. The guests walk to the grave and pour some rum upon it. Such sacrifices are very common among them, and are arranged even upon very trivial occasions. In case of a tooth-ache or head-ache, they imagine that the spirits are displeased and must be pacified by an offering.

765 Every woman whose child dies in a foreign land travels, if possible, once a year to the place of its burial, taking another woman with her, and offers a drink-offering upon its grave.

776 773 The hare is regarded as a great God and they bring offerings to it. The name of one of the twins born to the woman that was thrown from heaven was *Tschimammus*, that is, hare. He made the land upon which the Indians dwell and was their ancestor. Now he is said to dwell in heaven, for many Indians who have been there have seen him and spoken to him and to them he has declared that he would come again.

791 787 team of horses which had broken through the ice, were rescued through this same ability, to remain beneath the surface of the water for a considerable period. Power for this ability was given him by a teal duck which appeared to him in a dream. In the informant's words:

> When a boy, my grandfather always went swimming every morning before sun-up, even when there was a thin coating of ice on the river. One time he dreamed of going down to the ice-covered stream very early to bathe as usual. When he jumped into the water the echo could be heard down the river. Then suddenly he heard a voice saying to him, "I am going to make you a strong man. You will be able to go under the water as I do." He did not see anyone around but there close by was a teal. And he could go down under the water and get fish, too.

763 787 775 So close was the connection of divination with the spiritual realm that the Delaware noted carefully the last words of a person near to death. At such a time the dying one is believed to be in close communication with the souls of the departed, who may impart messages of great importance through this medium to the living. One aged woman while on her death-bed spoke as follows:

> My kindred, we have been wonderfully blessed. We have enjoyed the gifts which the Creator bestowed upon us. That is because we have kept our own religion and observed the teachings of our elders in all things. If you continue to do this in the future, you will not be subjected to the evils which increase as civilization increases. Do not give up your own religion.

Another old woman foretold the coming of the railroad twelve years prior to its appearance, while a third foresaw the granting of citizenship to the Indians twenty years before its occurrence.

THE SWEATING RITE

757 796 The importance of the sweat lodge ritual, as carried out by the Delaware for the purpose of spiritual and physical purification, is attested both by early observers,[25] and by more recent students.[26] According to Zeisberger, in his discussion of Delaware customs, the practice was attended by rather elaborate rites and was evidently regarded as one of the major ceremonies. It was performed in honor of fire, being called *machtuzin,* a term meaning "to perspire," according to the same writer's translation. A similar rite is described by Harrington, whose informants named it *muxhat'olzing.* . This is recorded as a variant of the Annual Ceremony.

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[25] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 225; Loskiel, 1794, pt. 1, pp. 108-9.

[26] Harrington, 1921, 122-126; Speck, 1931, pp. 72-74.

757 746 In examining the various accounts of this rite, both in published and manuscript form and through correspondence and verbal statements, it is evident that what was originally a highly developed ceremony performed in honor of the Creator, to whom appeals were sent through various media (such as fire, tobacco, water, etc.), has been modified to a great degree by the introduction of alien features and the abandonment of certain elements to meet the requirements of individuals. The latter would apply both to the practitioners and to those who sought treatment for physical and mental ills.

The benefits, according to one early writer (Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 225) which were derived from the sweat lodge ritual, were numerous and varied. He writes: "The sweat oven is the first thing that an Indian has recourse to when he feels indisposed: it is the place to which the wearied traveller, hunter, or warrior looks for relief from the fatigue he has endured, the cold he has caught or the restoration of his lost appetite." Reference to the works of Zeisberger [37] and Loskiel [38] indicate that it was customary for individuals to resort frequently to the public sweat lodges.

Wi·tapanóxwe states that formerly the sweating rite, as a part of the annual Big House Ceremony (Speck, 1931, p. 74), was performed to test the spiritual and physical strength of certain men, usually warriors. A lodge was built within the Big House and the men went in to pray and to recite their visions. Those who could withstand the heat for the longest period, were regarded as possessing the greatest power for war, and for curing. Information (correspondence, November, 1930) of a negative character as to the ceremonial aspects of the rite was obtained from J. A. Parks, of Copan, Oklahoma, who writes, "The sweat lodge was not a ceremony. It was a method of treating the sick with sweat baths and hot breaths of air by the Indian doctors."

757 This brings us to a consideration of the rite as it is performed by the Delaware sweat doctor today. In the account dictated by Wi·tapanóxwe, there is evidence of the survival of many elements, originally attached to the earlier form but subsequently incorporated into the formal pro-

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[37] "It is the custom of the Indians when they are tired or caught cold to go into a sweating oven several times a week. For this purpose every town has on its outskirts a sweating oven." (*op. cit.*, p. 26.)

[38] Similarly, this writer (*op. cit.*, p. 661) states in reference to the Delaware that "In every town an oven situated at some distance from the dwelling is built either of sticks or boards covered with sods, or dug in the side of a hill, and heated with some redhot stones."

ence to this person's having taught them the correct way to live and perform their sacrifices (Brainerd, p. 345; Luckenbach, p. 616; Brinton, 1888, p. 38). 773 776

Methods of Worship

The all-pervasive method of worship was sacrifice of burned flesh or tobacco. The correct method for performing these sacrifices, the dances, the order of procedure, method of constructing the house in which they were to be performed and other details were prescribed to the ancestors of the Delaware in the distant past. Most of these details escaped the notice, or at least failed to arouse the interest of our earliest observers, but Penn sketched their ceremonies in the following general terms: 782 796

> "Their Worship consists of two parts, Sacrifice and Cantico. Their Sacrifice is their first Fruits; the first and fattest Buck they kill, goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt with a Mournful Ditty of him that performeth the Ceremony... The other part is their Cantico, performed by round-Dances, sometimes words, sometimes Songs, then Shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by Singing and Drumming on a Board direct the Chorus: Their Postures in the Dance are very Antick and differing, but all keep measure..." (p. 38-39; also see Lindstrom, p. 208).

The emphasis on traditionalism in Delaware religion makes it not unlikely that the ceremonies which were witnessed in the eighteenth century were similar to those performed before the white man arrived.[13] [177]

The following description of the fall ceremony is taken primarily from an eye witness account of Abraham Luckenbach, but where details are corroborated by other writers the reference is also cited. It coincides in many details with the ceremony described in Frank Speck's A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony, which is an annotated account of a recitation of the ceremony as remembered by a Delaware Indian living in Oklahoma. 796

The ceremony was held in the Big House, which also served as council house. "The entrance was at both gable ends and there was neither floor nor ceiling. Near both ends and in the middle, there were three fires over which hung large kettles in which corn and meat were boiled for the guests and always kept in readiness for them to eat, when finished with the dance." The smoke opening left at the ridge of the roof and the bench running around the interior wall were similar to those already described for ordinary houses (also see Beatty, p. 22). 796 344

796 The greater part of the ceremony consisted of the recitation of visions by themen one at a time. They said that their protecting deities appeared to them in a dream "...in one or another form, for example, that of a large bird that then talked with them, told them their future fate for better or for worse; that they either would have great Chiefs or Warriors who would do great deeds, great witch-doctors who would deal in supernatural things, or that they would possess great riches and many relatives or the contrary. If the latter was the case, however, they did not sing their dreams but sadly related them;" The unfavorable dreams were not considered appropriate to recite at the ceremony.

In telling his dream, each man advanced "...holding the shell of a land-turtle containing a number of beans or kernels of corn... After he has rattled the turtle-shell with his hand amid many grimaces, he stops, and speaking in a loud tone of voice he relates, by fits and starts, the contents of his dream, or the manner in which his god appeared and what he told him." (Luckenbach, pp. 611-12, also see Zeisberger, 1910, p. 137). Actually these men whom Luckenbach saw recite their dreams were probably following a well-known path, with prearranged stopping places where the various "verses" of the vision were related. The same persons recited their dreams year after year so thast they attained a formal pattern. The path followed represents allegorically the White Path or the Great Spirit's road, that is, the road of human existence and of the soul after death (Speck, 1931, p. 23).

782 "These dances are held only at night and are often continued for weeks at a time." At the conclusion a sacrificial feast was held, for which the meat was provided by a communal hunt. Additional features of the Annual Ceremony noted by Kenny and Beatty were that the sacrifice consisted of twelve of each of several species of animals and that the offering was made by burning the fat of the animals on twelve hot stones. The men who performed the sacrifice then took a sweat bath using the same twelve stones (also see Kenney, pp. 168-69; Beatty, p. 44). "In conclusion, two beautiful tanned deer-skins are turned over to the two old men appointed beforehand, who hold them toward the sunrise, in front of the house of sacrifice and spread them out, while murmuring something. In this way, they imagine they are praying to their god. They thank him for long life and health. For this service the old men afterwards receive the skins as their property." (Luckenbach, p. 613; also see Beatty, pp. 43-44).14

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782 The Moravian missionaries a Friedenshutten witnessed a slightly different ceremony to which only guests of the family were invited. An old man sacrificed a deer at the center fire, then built an "oven" in which he placed twelve stones representing various deities. The old man then took the boy in whose honor the ceremony was being given

inside the oven, shook a calabash rattle and threw tobacco in the fire 796
while asking the spirits to grant the boy good luck (Loskiel, p. 43). [782]

To these ceremonies each person had to contribute a certain amount of wampum, a feature noted by Penn (p. 39). Of the rationale behind this custom, Frank Speck says: "...the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in the early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the effects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property." (Speck, 1931, p. 63).

In addition to these more formal ceremonies, Brickell states that [224] "...when they start on a hunting expedition, the first game that is taken they skin and dress whole, breaking not a bone, leaving on the head, ears and hoofs. This they bring to camp and cook whole, and everyone eats of it, and the rest they burn entirely up." (p. 49).

The Delaware communicated with the supernatural by means of visions. 787
"...they give much heed to dreams, because they suppose these invisible 778
powers give them direction at such times about certain affairs, and sometimes inform them what animal they choose to be worshipped in." (Brainerd, pp. 349-350; also see Loskiel, p. 40). In regard to the last, Lindstrom says: "They adopt their Paarka or idol when about fifteen. They may make a human figure, claw of bear or eagle, tooth or bird bill. They hang it about their neck and it is so sacred that no one may touch it." (Lindstrom, p. 207). These animals which became guardian spirits received their power from the great Spirit. Such an animal became sacred to the person to whom it was the author of good, although to others it was the same as any other animal (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132; Brainerd, pp. 344-345).[15]

The Hereafter

From the earliest sources we find that the Delaware had a concept 775
of an immortal soul, a hereafter which was better than life on earth and
that the attainment of this place was linked with good behavior in life. [774]
The hereafter was believed to lie to the south, but its location was very vaguely conceived. Likewise although they had the idea of reward for a good life, there was no definite expression of what this good life would involve. The bad were to be punished not by any torture but by the inability to attain the place of bliss (Penn, p. 37; Brainerd, p. 346; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 128-29; Brickell, p. 49). The greatest difference between the Delaware concept of good and that of the Christian theology of the period lay in the fact that the Delaware concept was completely
concerned with man's behavior toward his fellow man. The sacrifices [782]
which were made were apparently expected to influence one's immediate fortune but to have little effect on the state of the soul after death. Thus Brainerd says that the bad folk are those who "...lie, steal, quarrel with their neighbors, are unkind to their friends and especially to aged parents, and in a word, such as are a plague to mankind." (p. 346).

10. The evidence available on this subject in printed form plus what can be found in deeds has been admirably summarized by Ruttenber (p.89ff.). 000

11. A pre-contact "history" of the Delaware, which is supposed to have been painted originally on sticks was acquired by Rafinesque in 1820. This man was a natural scientist and antiquarian of questionable repute, but the symbols in the document which he brought to light and their translation were pronounced authentic by several modern Delaware to whom it was shown by Brinton. The document, "The Walam Olum", with a translation of the Delaware text into English is reproduced by Brinton (1885). [211]

12. One instance of the operation of this custom took place during the Dutch-Indian wars. The Dutch put a price on the heads of the Raritans, a Delaware band, for supposed offenses against them, but the only immediate result was a revenge murder by a neighboring band for an old injury (O'Callaghan, Vol. I, 1846, p. 240). [648]

The following discussion of capturing two Indians who had murdered a white man also indicates the existence of this custom: "...only the Difficulty was, that there were seven of these Indyans, Men of the same Stock, that if two should be seised, the other five would seek to bee Revenged; soe it was unsafe." (Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey, Vol. I, p. 73).

13. Frank Speck (1931, p. 17): "The Big House capitulates the elements of certain minor feast ceremonies held on special occasions by families. The great annual ceremony seems to stand as an entity, one that does not submit to any assumption of recent origin in its present form of organization." This he feels is verified by its part-for-part resemblance to the Munsee ceremony in Canada, which would indicate that it must have been a national ceremony before 1700 when the groups began to separate.

In my opinion, however, there is not sufficient evidence that the "Annual Ceremony" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries existed in all its complexity in the seventeenth century although most of its parts were probably contained in various different ceremonies which were performed. One important difference between the ceremonies mentioned by Penn and Lindstrom and the "Annual Ceremony" is that in the former the sacrificial meat consisted of the first of the season's kill and in the latter it consisted of game taken on a special communal hunt. 74
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6: Harrington
● 796

NM7 Delaware

[For information on various Delaware ceremonies, see category 116, pages 81-156, 163-169, 171-183, 185-191, and 196-200. --Analyst]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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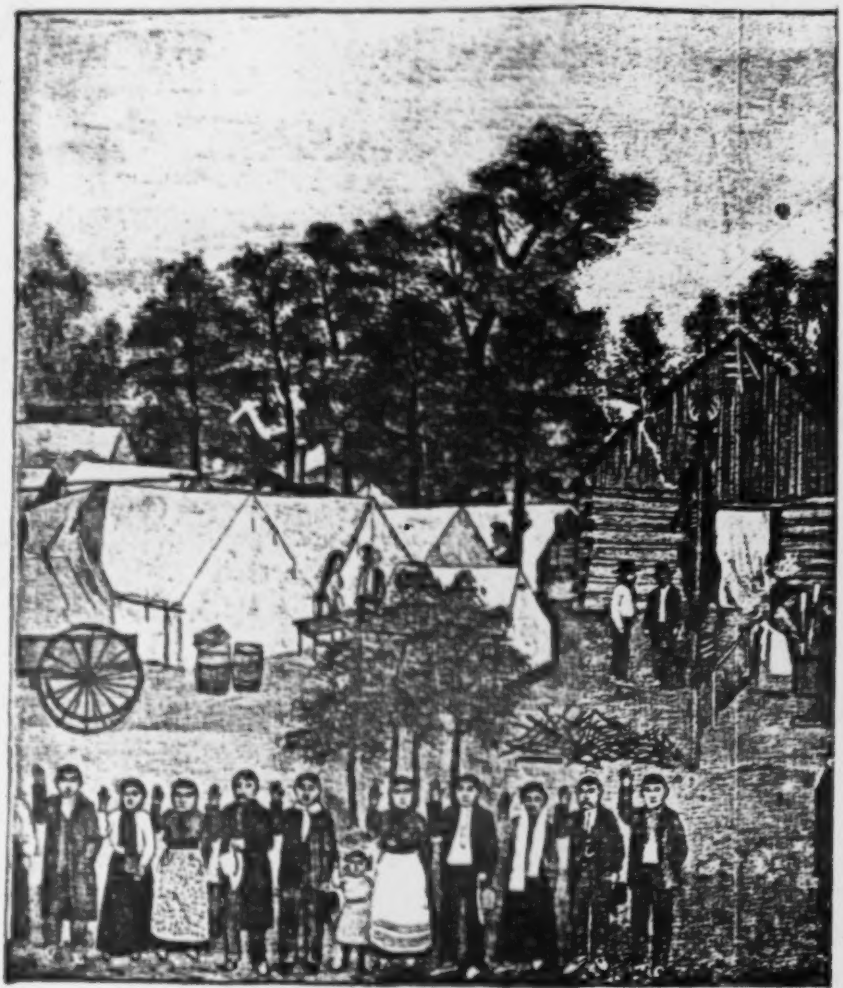

CONCLUSION OF THE LENAPE ANNUAL CER
Native Painting by Earnest Spybuck.

[Facing p. 1 (A)] [in color]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
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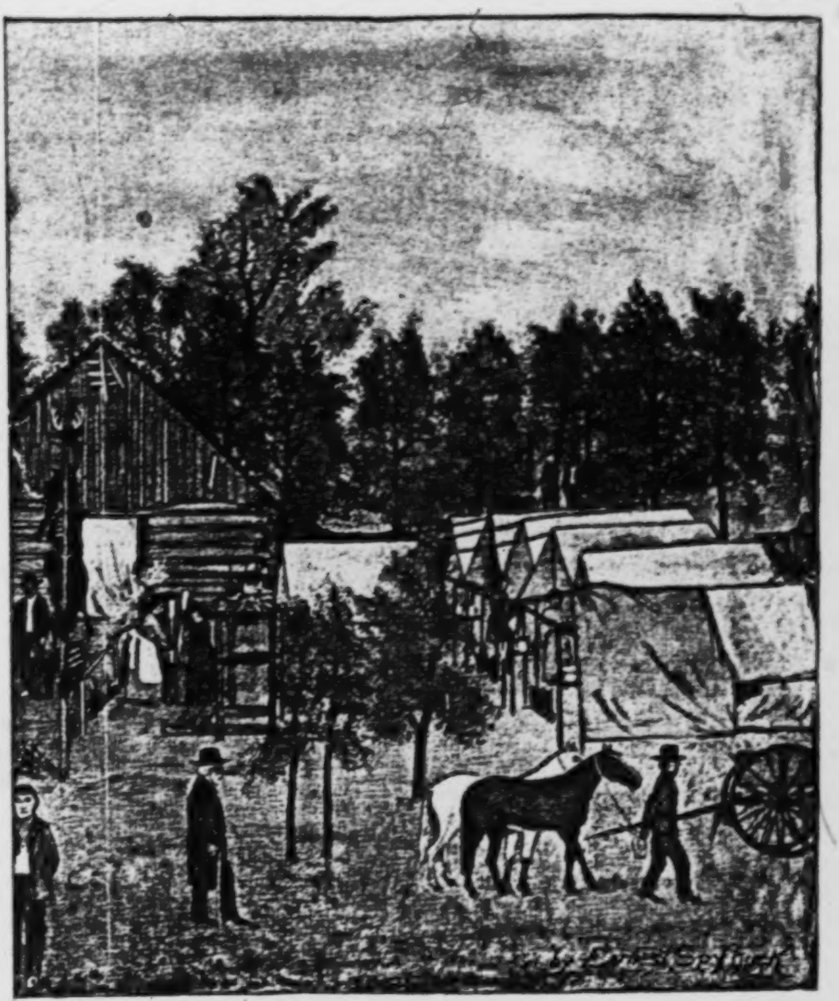

NAPE ANNUAL CEREMONY IN OKLAHOMA
ng by Earnest Spybuck, a Shawnee

[Facing p. 1 (B)] [in color]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

the mother saying, "If you don't behave, 776
Mɪsi'ngʷ' will carry you off in a bag full 861
of snakes!" This seems to be the only
trace of the doctoring function of the
mask among the Unami. They also say 776
that when the keeper burns tobacco for 782
Mɪsinghâli'kŭn and asks for good luck [224]
in hunting, "it turns out that way every
time;" and if anyone has lost either
horses or cattle, whether by straying away
or through theft, he can go to the keeper
of the Mɪsi'ngʷ' with some tobacco and
recover them. All he has to do is to
explain his errand to the keeper, who in
turn informs Mɪsinghâli'kŭn that they
want him to look for these particular
animals. The loser then goes home, and
in a few days the missing stock return,
driven back by this mysterious being.
If they were tied or hobbled, it is said
that the Mɪsi'ngʷ' appears to them and so
frightens them that they break loose and
come home. Mɪsinghâli'kŭn has a spe- 776
cial ceremony, held in the spring, and 796
also participates in the Annual Ceremony
at the Big House. This Mɪsi'ngʷ' is also

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

776 called *Weopĕ'lakis*, to distinguish it from
796 another, kept by a different family, which
● was not so important, and about which little was known by my informants except that, within their memories, it had never appeared at the Annual Ceremony, but that it probably had a spring dance of its own. There is an indistinct tradition, however, that in former times several masks were seen at the Annual Ceremony, and that half a day was given up to them.

751 Miniature masks (fig. 3) were often
777 worn on the person as health or good-luck
778 charms, in former days usually suspended from a string about the neck, but in later times carried in the pocket. The two large Unami masks in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, are shown in pl. II and fig. 1.

776 Among the Minsi there are consider-
778 able differences in belief and in practice, their masks resembling those of the Iroquois in many particulars. The late James Wolf said that "Mizinkhâli'kün" was supposed to live among the rocks

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

[Continued from p. 38]

a number of heads or masks of stone 172
(pl. IV) within the boundaries of their 776
former domain in New Jersey and the 778
vicinity,[26] which, when the rarity of such objects in the surrounding regions is also considered, seems quite significant. Such stone heads even mark the trail of the Lenape withdrawal westward through Pennsylvania,[27] and have even been found in Ohio, where they lingered for a time (fig. 5).

The best early description is given by 292
Brainerd,[28] who, in May 1745, while on 776
the Susquehanna above the English 796
settlements, saw a masked Indian who must have been an impersonator of Mïsinghâli′kün. It runs:

> "But of all the sights I saw among them, or indeed anywhere else, none appeared so frightful . . . as the appearance of one who was a devout and zealous Reformer, or rather, restorer of what he supposed was the ancient religion of the Indians. He made his appearance in his *pontifical garb*, which was a coat of *bear skins*, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear skin stockings; and a great *wooden* face painted, the one half black, the other half

776 tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin,
● 796 with an extravagant mouth, cut very much
[292] awry; the face fastened to a bear skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand, which he
[534] used for music, in his idolatrous worship, which was a dry *tortoise shell* with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle. As he came forward, he beat his tune with the rattle, and danced with all his might, but he did not suffer any part of his body, not so much as his fingers, to be seen."

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778 With the exception of one minor point, the "wry mouth," this would be a good description of the Mĭsi′ngʷ′ outfit used until recently by the Lenape in Oklahoma (pl. II). On the following page, Brainerd mentions "images" which seem to be the Mĭsi′ngʷ′ faces carved on the posts of the Big House.

Zeisberger[29] also refers to the masks in these words:

"The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *Wsinkhoalican*, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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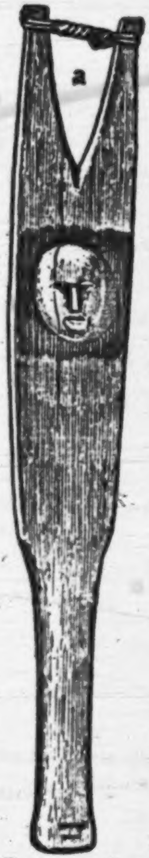

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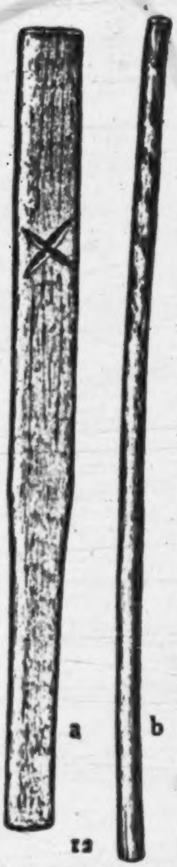

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FIG. 11.—Sacred drumsticks, used at the Annual Ceremony in Oklahoma. (Length of *a*, 18.6 in.)

FIG. 12.—*a*, Plain drumstick used at the Annual Ceremony; *b*, Prayerstick. (Length of *b*, 18.9 in.)

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

them and told them what to do to get his 532
power. When a man put on a Mizink 776
he received the power of this person or 778
spirit; he could even see behind him, and could cure diseases."

The Mask Society.—The men who 794
owned these masks formed a kind of society which Nellis Timothy says originally had twelve members, but which, before it disbanded, dwindled to about five. Sometimes only two appeared in costume.

The society had a meeting-house of its own where its dances, *Mizinkĭ'ntĭka*, were held, for, unlike the Unami custom, no Mizink ever appeared in the Big House. The members appeared wearing their masks and clad in rough bearskin and deerskin costumes, while some, at least, where provided with a turtleshell rattle which they would rub on a long pole, crying "*O*ⁿ-*o*ⁿ-*o*ⁿ*!*" the while.

Ceremonies.—While no consecutive ac- 794
count of their ceremonies is now re- 796
membered, it was said that they some- 751
times put down their rattles, heaped up

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
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794 the ashes from the two fires, then threw
● 796 the ashes all over the house to prevent
751 the people assembled from having disease.

Should any sick person appear, he or
755 she would be especially treated with
794 ashes. Sometimes the performers would
796 pick up live coals and throw them about,
frightening the people. At other times
the whole company of them would go
around to the different houses begging
for tobacco, and would dance in any
house where someone was willing to sing
for them.

Nothing was said among the Minsi
about the Mizink bringing back stray
532 stock or driving deer, characteristic at-
778 tributes of the Mask Being of the Unami.
[126] The writer obtained but one mask among
the Canadian Lenape, and this was from
the Grand River band (fig. 4); it has
been described by him[54] in the following
words:

> "But one mask (*mizink*) was obtained. It differed from those of the Iroquois chiefly in being cruder, and also in decoration, the lines being burnt into the wood instead of being

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
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shaking the turtle rattle (fig. 18), which resembles those used in the Big House, while the audience kept time to his song by uttering "*Hu-hu-hu-hu!*" The nature of the song the writer was unable to learn, but, like the chants of the Bear

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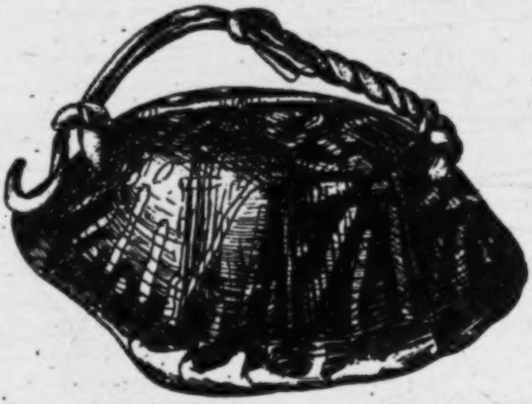

FIG. 18.—Rattle of land-tortoise shell used in the Otter Rite. (Length, 3.9 in.)

Ceremony, it probably was concerned with the singer's "dream helper." When he had finished, another man put on the skin and took up the chant, and so on until noon the next day, when the ceremony was brought to a close and all

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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Ceremony	Function	Spirit Force Addressed
1. Grease Drinking Ceremony; Bear Rite	To immunise against sickness caused by Bear	Bear
2. Grease Drinking Ceremony; Otter Rite	To immunise against sickness caused by Otter	Otter
3. Mask Dance Ceremony	To avert sickness caused by Face-Image spirit and to aid deer hunting and agriculture	Mask Spirit, Corn (mother or grandmother)
4. Opossum Dance	To satisfy the guardian spirit of opossums	Opossum
5. Doll Dance	To appease ill-will of spirit of corn and avert sickness	Human Images (dolls)
6. Buffalo Dance	To overcome buffalo	Buffalo
7. Spring Football Ceremony	To promote and protect growth of crops	Creator (father), Sun (elder brother) and Thunders (grandfathers)
8. Corn Harvest Ceremony	Thanksgiving, appeal for health and abundance	Creator (Father), Corn (mother or grandmother)
9. Social, or "Stomp" Dances	Amusement, social assembly	None specified
10. Big House Ceremony (Ga'mwiŋ)	To avert, (*a*) destruction of world; (*b*) national catastrophe and sickness; (*c*) to unify the people	Creator and entire pantheon

[facing p. 26(A)]

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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ORCE ADDRESSED	ORIGIN	PROCEDURE
	From release of captive Bear (myth)	Recitation of visions, drinking grease and fea meat
	From release of captive Otter (myth)	Recitation of visions, drinking of grease anc hog meat
it, Corn (mother or ther)	Obligation imposed by Spirit (myth)	Solo mask dance, eating corn foods
	Dream injunction (myth)	Imitative of opossum, and recitation of d hostess
nages (dolls)	Children's familiarity with corn mask dolls causing illness (myth)	Six men's, six women's dance songs, feast and corn foods, prayer-call facing east, to corn-bread images of human being and bear, offering
	None specified	Imitative of buffalo, circling, shoving
(father), Sun (elder and Thunders thers)	Mandatory by custom	Prayer, thanksgiving followed by dance, fol football game between men and women
(Father), Corn or grandmother)	Mythical corn famine, rite mandatory by custom	Day: Thanksgiving address by leader, d masked men, alternating with women's dan Night: Social dances, feast of corn foods, fir around drummers and singers
cified	None specified	Circling column in trot, contraclockwis motions, varied mimicry
nd entire pantheon	Ceremony revealed to tribe after mythical earthquake, tornado and volcano,—destruction of world	Recitation of visions with dancing aroun and praying, discourses and feasting fo nights; ceremonial hunt and mask danc morning; ninth night, new fire made, anc call to creator, incense burned, wampum con and sacrifice, repainting images, corn-fo meat feast; twelfth night "beginners" and rehearsal of vision recitation, fire allowed t ninth morning, dance around center-post prayer-call with prayer-sticks; wampum sac

[Facing p. 26 (B)]

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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SUMMARY OF DELAW

CEDURE	Ceremonial Host	Participants	
king grease and feast of bear	Wolf division, head of family, self-appointed	Family of legendary hero and guests, no women	Bi
nking of grease and feast of	Oldest survivor of family concerned with legend	Family of legendary originator and guests, men and women	Sp
corn foods	Owner of mask, or person calling for rite as cure for sickness or scared after dreaming of mask	No restrictions	Ar n
and recitation of dream by	Female who inherits obligation	Female dance volunteers, singers, members of hostess's father's group	W.
dance songs, feast of meat -call facing east, tossing up nan being and bear, wampum	Families owning dolls descended from original children doll-makers; leader an invited chief with male and female assistants	Families owning dolls; unrestricted guests	Ar
ing, shoving	Not specified	Volunteers, no limitations	Wl
owed by dance, followed by nen and women	Chief of ceremonial group, Wolf, Tortoise, Turkey	No restrictions	An s
lress by leader, dance by g with women's dance st of corn foods, final dance ingers	Chosen (hereditary?)	No restrictions	An
ot, contraclockwise; hand ,	Appointed leaders	No limitations; free attendance	Co ir
ith dancing around images s and feasting for twelve t and mask dance, fourth new fire made, and prayer- urned, wampum consecration ng images, corn-food and t "beginners" and women's ation, fire allowed to go out; around center-post images, sticks; wampum sacrifice	Individual of Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise group who assumes sponsorship, supported by his group and twelve "attendants"	Sponsor's group, and other two groups as collaborators	An n n

[facing p.26(c)]

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ARY OF DELAWARE RITES AND FEASTS

IPANTS	TIME HELD	DURATION	LOCA
dary hero and nen	Biennial	One night	Rectangular br
dary originator n and women	Spring, biennial	One or more days	Outdoors on pr
	Annually in autumn at beginning of hunting season	One night	Not specified
olunteers, sing- of hostess's	When called annually (?)	One night	Outdoor (?) dan
g dolls; unre-	Annually in fall	One night until sunrise	Outdoors on pre
imitations	When decided and called	All day	Outdoor dance c
	Annually in spring until midsummer end of June	Dancing several nights at end of each week, football game day following	Outdoors on pre
	Annually at corn harvest time	Day and night	Outdoors on pre
ree attendance	Conclusion of formal rites, or informally when called	All or part of night	Indoor or outdoo
and other two borators	Annually in fall (Oct.) (formerly by tradition every month)	Twelve nights, with rites on fourth and thirteenth days	In permanent cer ture (the Big H images of Creat lesser deities, an adjacent

[Facing p. 26(D)]

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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LOCATION	MUSICAL ACCOMPANIMENT	SUPPLIES AND PARA
Rectangular brush house	Turtle hand-rattle	Wampum string for bear's meat, and bear's head (now
Outdoors on prepared ground	Turtle hand-rattle	Otter skin pendant on back o and steel fire tools
Not specified	Deer-hide drum, snapping turtle rattle by mask dancer	Red and black wooden mas leggings, bag, staff, corn payment
Outdoor (?) dance oval	Water-drum and rattle	Wampum paid to singer
Outdoors on prepared ground	Deer-hide drum with turtle-rattles	Dressed male and female do red, wampum to pay lead beef and hog meat, hominy,
Outdoor dance circle	Deer-hide drum	Buffalo horn head band, hom
Outdoors on prepared ground	(?)	Football of deer-hair and goal
Outdoors on prepared ground	Drums and rattles	Masks, corn husk covering, c
Indoor or outdoor circle	None required	Native costume urged
In permanent ceremonial structure (the Big House), before images of Creator and twelve lesser deities, and on grounds adjacent	Hide-drum, turtle hand-rattles	Wooden mask, corn-morta mussel-shell spoons, red strings and beads, prayer-sti sticks, turkey-wing fans, fire corn foods, cedar incense

[Facing p. 26(E)]

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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SUPPLIES AND PARAPHERNALIA	CEREMONIAL UNITS
m string for bear's head, baskets of and bear's head (now hog's head)	Eat-all feast of bear's meat, vision recitation
in pendant on back of song leader, flint sel fire tools	Dream recitation, kindling new fire, feasting on hog flesh and grease
d black wooden mask, bear-skin coat, s, bag, staff, corn foods, wampum nt	Mask-clown dance, sermon, supplication, feast, social dances (mask-dancer also admitted to Big House Ceremony)
m paid to singer	Dream recitation, feast, sermon, social dances
male and female dolls, faces painted ampum to pay leader and assistants, d hog meat, hominy, cornbread	Song-dance, feast, sermon, social dances, extinguishing fire, cornbread image sacrifices
horn head band, hominy pot for feast	Imitative dancing
of deer-hair and goals	Round dances, prayer, thanksgiving; football game between sexes with wagering
orn husk covering, corn foods	Prayer, thanksgiving, masked dance, corn-food feast, social dances, Drunken dances
ostume urged	No ritual
mask, corn-mortar, bark dishes, shell spoons, red paint, wampum and beads, prayer-sticks, carved drum turkey-wing fans, fire-drill, deer meat, ods, cedar incense	Capitulates events of annual ceremonial cycle; vision recitation, sermons and prayers; corn-food and meat feasting, sacred hunt, mask-clown dancing; new fire rite; formerly sweat-bath rite; wampum sacrifice; purification,—sweeping of white-path; painting rite; cedar incense rite; paint annointment rite; no social dances; informal games during day intervals

[Facing p.26(F)]

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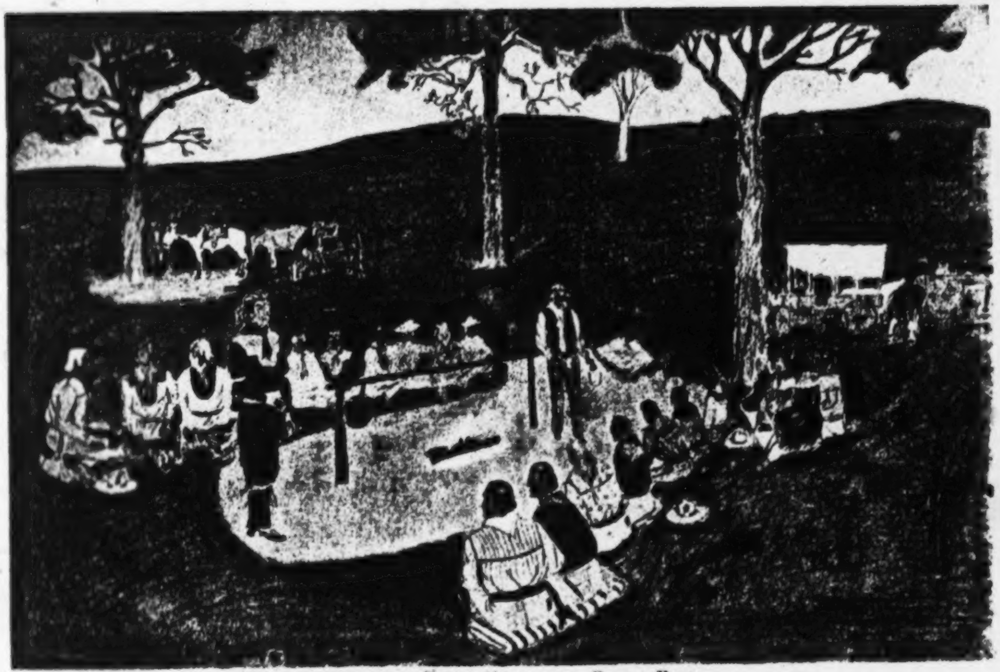
PLATE 2



GREASE DRINKING CEREMONY, OTTER RITE.
(Painting by J. A. Parks, Delaware Indian, Wann, Okla., 1931.)

[Facing p.44]

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

535 Social dances not restricted to Delaware are held whenever a
person who can afford to play host feels the urge to do so.
796 Gatherings with a religious motive may be said to have practically
ceased. The Doll Dance which was a family responsibility
has not been held since 1929. The Big House Ceremony has
not been held since 1924, and since the ceremonial structure has
been demolished, there is dim possibility that it will be revived.
There are still a score or so who have participated in the Big
House, but some of them will make no move toward revival.
The hereditary leader of the Wolf clan in the Big House, who is
probably the staunchest adherent of the ceremony, is now a leader
[795] of a peyote group in which several tribes are represented. The
most tangible evidence of a community spirit still extant among
[764] the Delaware is the use of a Delaware cemetery.

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

324. to carcass alone					+						+
325. to skin alone				+	+						
326. keeps none				+					+	S	
327. Tobacco burned as sacrifice to deities for good luck in hunting				(+)		+		+	+	+	+
328. Hunting pursued in summer		S	+					+	+	+	+
329. in autumn	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+
330. in winter		S						+	+	+	
331. in spring			+								+
332. Ceremony when individual kills first animal			+	+		+		+	+	+	+
333. Sacrifice to deities or spirits of deceased friends						+		−			
334. Sacrifice made nocturnally						+		−			−
335. Friend is invited who eats sacrifice and makes prayers for good luck						+		+			+
336. Youth presents first animal to some of the old folks				+			+	+	+	+	+
337. Male animal to man, female to woman				+				−	−		−
338. On return from hunting celebrate with feast	(+)			+		(+)	+	−	•+	−	−
339. with dance	(+)			+			S	−	−	−	−
Constitution, personal appearance, dress, etc.											
340. Hair on body		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
341. on face		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
342. Beard extirpated		−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•−	•−	
343. Hair on body thinner than on body of whites		+				+	+	+	+	+	+
344. Hair on head thicker than on head of whites		+				+		+	+	+	+
345. Men's hairdress: Cut or shave hair short, except for tuft or queue	S		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•	+
346. Queue is in two braids		+	+	+		+		−	+	•	−
347. one forward and other to rear						+			•+	•	
348. Ornamented		+	+	(+)		+	+	+	•	•	+
349. Women's hairdress: Fastened behind the head	(+)	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	•	•+
350. In square bunch	(+)		+			+				•	
351. In braid			+				+	+	+	•	
352. Clubbed and enclosed in something		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	•	
353. Ornamented	+	+				S		+		•	
354. Paint faces for ornament	+					+	+	+	+		+
355. Average length of life						40	70-80	70	300	•	•
356. Extreme point of longevity						140	120	115	300	•	•

165 301 302 142 796 535 852 221 249 782 224

446. Indian in bearskin jumps from hole to hole while others shoot at him					—		—	—	—	—	—
447. Moccasin game †					+			+	+	+	+
Dances											
448. Engomween (Worshiping dance)			+		+	+		+	+	+	+
449. Linkaokon (common or corn dance)			+		+	+	+	+	+	•	+
450. Buffalo					+		+	•+	+	+	+
451. Begging					+		+	—	—	•	•
452. Bear					+			+	+	+	+
453. War (Skawseeokon)	+		+	+	+		+	•+	•+	•+	+
454. Co-coize-kon †			(+)		+			—	—	•	+
455. Peace			+					+	+	+	+
456. Dances for religious purposes: Engomween			(+)		+	+		+	+	+	+
457. Linkaokon			(+)		+	+	+	+	+	•	+
458. Dances for war ceremonies: War dance	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+
459. Begging dance							+	•	•	•	•
460. Buffalo dance							+	+			—
461. Women participate in dancing			+		+		+	+	+	+	+
462. Excluded from war dance				+	+		•(+)	+	•	+	•+
463. Dance in circle			+		+		+	+	•+	•+	•+
464. Men in front			+		+		•	+	+	+	+
465. Women in rear			+		+		•	+	+	+	+
Music											
466. Instruments: Drum	—		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
467. Folded deerskins						+		+	+		+
468. Deerskin over frame or kettle			+					+	+	+	+
469. Rattle					+	+		+	+	+	+
470. Flute					+		+	•	+	+	+
471. Number of holes							6		6		8
472. Used by young men in courting					—				—		—
473. Different music for different occasions				+	—		+	+	+		+
474. Music for war ceremonies more solemn and impressive than for others				+			+	—	•	•	+
475. No ceremonial music except solo singing					+			—	—	•	—
476. Only nonsense or insignificant words in songs				—	+		+	—	—		—

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411 Oklahoma Delaware said that they had used the blowgun as boys and that, although the targets were usually birds or small [524] game, the blowgun was more of a toy than anything else. Since the sojourn of the ancestors of the Oklahoma Delaware in Ohio [171] and Indiana in the first decades of the nineteenth century is rather well documented and accounts of that period fail to record the possession of the blowgun then, it is more than probable that two sources of diffusion are here indicated. The Canadian Munsee or Delaware undoubtedly received the blowgun from the Southeast through the Iroquois, whereas the Oklahoma Delaware probably received it direct from the southeastern tribes with whom they have been neighbors in Oklahoma.

227 It is strange that in two years on the Delaware River Lindeström did not see spears, nets, or hooks used to take fish (313-15). All these were mentioned by Roger Williams as being used by the Narragansets and all but the spears were listed by Van der Donck in addition to weirs. These last, according to Lindeström, were the principal means used by the Delaware to take fish. Weirs were not mentioned by the second- or third-period sources and were unknown to the modern Delaware.

224 Large hunting parties were reported periodically for the Delaware in every period (316). However, there was considerable variation as to the number constituting a large party (317). E. R. said four hunters were as many as ever hunted together. This is quite diverse from the hundreds reported in the first period. The parties were formed for their mutual advantage and were under the guidance of the oldest or most expert hunter (319). Williams, Van der Donck, and Lindeström mentioned the driving of deer by large parties. Subsequent accounts did not mention game drives, and the report of smaller parties probably indicate that they were no longer made. Group hunting in the later periods was described by Johnston as a party of several families going together directed by a head man who encouraged the young men to pursue their hunting every morning and directed them where and when to move their camps. The ceremonies observed ● [796] in connection with group hunting were rather elaborate as described by Lindeström (see *post*, pp. 127-28). In the second and

third periods no ceremonies were reported. In the fourth period 224 the ceremonies were said to be prayers at the beginning and con- [796] clusion of the expedition.

From the sequence of questions I understand that the one relating to "peculiar laws" in hunting concerned the rights of various members of a group hunting—the division of the game, the taboos to be observed, etc. (320). Most of the sources and all of the informants stated or indicated the existence of laws or rules from this standpoint. Johnston, however, understood the question differently, for he answered, "They have not, every one kills as much as he can." While he gave no information on the subject desired, his answer does show that the Indians with whom he was acquainted were not practicing conservation of game. There seems to have been a certain etiquette observed [576] whenever a successful hunter was approached by an unsuccessful one at the scene of the kill (322-26). The sharing of the game killed was as generally observed as if the two had been hunting together (321), but the detail of the division depended upon the individual hunter and his mood of the moment. Deer was the principal animal sought in hunting, and often the term hunting was used synonymously with deer hunting, and in speaking of the divisions of game killed, the deer is always taken as the example. The fact that deer was the staple meat and hunted most often in the autumn is also shown in the more frequent reports of hunting in the autumn than in any other season (328-31).

A ceremony celebrating the killing of the first game animal 852 by a youthful hunter is well affirmed in every period (332). The details of the ceremony, however, are not always given. Zeisberger reported that the youth presented a male animal to an old man and a female animal to an old woman (337). This was denied by all the modern informants. The third- and fourth-period reports related that the selection of the recipient of the kill was not based on the sex of the animal (336). This contradiction may represent a change in custom between the second and third periods, but the fact that there is only one authority for the earlier period casts some doubt on the uniformity of

526 Games show no change of any significance aside from denial 177 of ball play. Every game reported in earlier periods was remembered in the fourth period. Moccasin game undoubtedly was restricted to play in connection with funeral ceremonies in the fourth but not in earlier periods.

Dances

535 Dances, like games, show remarkably little change. The begging dance, reported in the third period, drew two definite denials in the fourth, while two informants did not even recognize the [721] dance (451). As this dance was usually held in connection with the outfitting of a war party, a fact of which none of the informants were aware (459), the two denials should more properly be classed as lack of information.

The two most important dances from the point of view of the Delaware were the *engomween* and the *linkaokon* (448-49). [796] These were their only dances with a religious significance (456-57). The *engomween* or worshiping dance was a part of the Big House Ceremony. The *linkaokon* was recognized by most of the informants by that name but is better known as the doll dance. The first has not been held since 1924 and the other since 1929. The only dances that have been held in recent years have been social dances which are not represented in the element list.

Music

533 [796] The elements listed under music are, of course, closely related to dances. The statement of Johnston that there was no ceremonial music except solo singing was refuted by all the informants who felt qualified to answer (475). Johnston's further statement that only nonsense or insignificant words were used in songs, even though corroborated by Chipps, is likewise denied by the same three informants and also by Heckewelder (476). In both these cases the informants are undoubtedly right. The error of Johnston is an understandable one when it is realized that songs were mostly of words carrying allusions, that many of them were archaic forms used only in songs, and that meaningless syllables were added to complete the rhythm, with the results that only an instructed person could understand them.

J. W.	*Kičinipen*—Summer	805
W. L.	*Kičinipen*—Starting summer	821

July

Zeisberger	*Yugatamoewi gischuch*—The time of raising the earth about the corn	
Heckewelder	—The summer month	
Johnston	*Gock, kau, tau, ma, ekeshoe*—The moon when vegetation is blossoming	[824]
Pipe	*Yaukāūtamwaa kēēshooh*—Moon of sacrifice or prayer. Time of feast of first fruits	[796]
Chipps	*La-kòk-ma-aò-e-kà-so*	
J. W.	*Dainipen*—Middle summer	
W. L.	*Lainipen ki·ło*—Middle of summer	
W. T.	*Kičini·pen*—Middle of summer	

August

Zeisberger	*Sakauweuhewi gischuch*—Deer month	
Zeisberger	*Winu gischuch*—The time when the corn is in the milk and ready to eat and roast	[824 242]
Heckewelder	—The month of roasting ears	
Johnston	*Sok, ho, a, ha, ie, kie, shough, i, e,*—The moon when the deer begin to turn gray	[825]
Pipe	*Saukiioahāā kēēshooh*—Moon in which deer get blue hair	
Chipps	*Wà-no-e-kà-so*	
J. W.	—Dry, hot, refreshing	
W. L.	*Kičitakøk ki·ło*—Beginning fall month	
W. T.	*Socawigiło*—Deer change color, Fall side of summer	[825]

September

Zeisberger	*Kitschitachquoak*—Autumn month
Heckewelder	—The autumnal month

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe there are no greater wizards 754 or witches than knaves or drunkards.

All the modern informants confirmed the belief in witches and wizards, but J. W., his wife and son were especially vehement in their current existence.

41. National Worshiping Society (Big House)

JOHN JOHNSTON—They have a national worship which they 794 think keeps the world from coming to an end. It is attended with very great expense in procuring wampum and provisions, etc. This meeting is continued for 12 days and twelve nights successively. They have a large building prepared for that purpose [346] about 25 feet in width and 50 or 60 feet in length according to the number that is expected will attend, with a door in each end, notice is given at what time their worship will commence. When they are collected and seated in a row round the outside 796 of the building the men by themselves and the women by themselves a man and woman at each door the man for a doorkeeper and the women to sweep between every exercise, the fires are made in the middle of the building which they make by rubbing two dry sticks together that it may be pure, the fire they put out every day and make new lest it should become adulterated, they make it by rubbing two dry sticks together as at the first. Thus prepared the one that made preparation for the meeting gets up with a turtle shell in his hand (containing pebbles) and he gives it a shake and the whole assembly arise with him he then begins telling a dream which he says he dreamt in his childhood [787] and the whole congregation repeats it after him in one voice word by word till he says he heard a voice singing to him and begins to sing immediately upon which two men commence beating [533 with flat sticks upon skins folded together then he stops singing 535] and he with the whole assembly jump ten or twelve jumps in the form of a dance then he makes a sudden halt and goes on with his dream as before repeated by the whole in one voice until he commences singing again as before and the players commence beating and the whole jump or dance in the form above mentioned thus they continue for the space of half an hour or more

796 according to the length of his dream. Then they seat themselves and the room is swept by the woman at the doors the one that first spoke then shoves the shell under his legs to the next one, if he does not feel a disposition to tell his dream he shoves it to the next without shaking it, and it is shoved from one to another till it comes to one that wishes to tell his dream then he gives the shell a shake and after some minutes commences telling his dream while sitting but soon arises and the whole assembly with him he proceeds in the same manner as above mentioned. At intervals of telling dreams they appoint one or call one by name and give to him a piece of wampum then they call eleven more they go out of the meeting and make doleful noise which is similar to howling but they term it making twelve prayers or praying twelve times then they return in to the meeting and the foreman that is the one that was first called divides the wampum among the twelves that went out. Then commence telling dreams as before and going out to pray in the same manner thus they [784] continue for 12 days and twelve nights abstaining themselves from women and every thing whereby they think they could be defiled. In these meetings they always have one appointed and dressed in bear skins appearing very frightful to go round and examine and see if there is any improper conduct if so he points the stick at him or her which he has in his hand, the doorkeepers immediately put the person out of the door and those who are put out are not admitted into the meeting any more. Previous to these meetings they appoint a number of young men to go and kill a certain number of deer which they think will be sufficient to last them during the meeting, these are dressed, their provisions cooked and served to them while in their worship by those that they call their butchers.

Captain Pipe—The grand national worship of the Delawares has been already alluded to, and I come now to a description of it. It is called Engōmween. There are three or four families in the nation whose duty it is by inheritance to prepare for and invite the nation to this assembly, and to whose care is committed every arrangement respecting it. Each family takes upon itself the performance of these duties once in three years; and as they do so in pretty regular succession, the worship is annual, or per- 796 haps more frequent. The time and place of meeting is designated by this family, the principal male of which sends a messenger to the chief or head man of each village, who in his turn disseminates the information through the families of those under him. At the time appointed the nation, as well males as females assemble at a large lodge prepared for the purpose, where the females are placed in rear of the men. Here with grave and [791] downcast looks they sit and receive from one of the old men an address upon the importance of a due observance of the ceremonies of the worship, and of abstinence from all unlawful pleasures during the continuance of them, among which any connection with women is counted a polluting sin. After describing at length the customs of their ancestors, among which this worship is placed in the foreground, the principal man of those who prepared the place of worship, having in his hand a small turtle shell containing a few gravel stones, gives it a sudden shake, and at the signal the worshipers all rise. He then commences a history of his early dream, repeating it in short sentences, in a natural tone of voice and being followed in the repetition of each sentence by all who are in the house. At length he commences to sing his dream, being followed by the company as before, and relieved between the sentences by a chorus of singers who are seated apart from the other worshipers, and have a kind of tambourin composed of a deer skin stretched across four sticks, upon which they beat [533] the time. The music is said to be agreeable and very soft.

After this person has finished the tale of his dream, in which is described minutely every circumstance connected with the appearance of his tutelar deity, as well as those events of his life, [781 which being foretold, have *of course* come to pass, each person 787] in the lodge takes him by the hand in a mystical manner and they all seat themselves. The men then smoke for a short time, preserving the utmost silence and gravity of deportment, during which occupation the speaker takes occasion to push the shell under his legs in a secret manner, to the next on his right, who declares his intention to speak by giving it a slight shake, or pushes it in the same secret way to the next. When one has

● 776 accepted the turtle by the shake of accession, he remains in a state of apparent meditation for a few minutes, and then rising gives it another rattle, when, as in the preceding instance, he is joined by all the worshipers and the same ceremonies of repeating the dream, are performed.

The worship is commenced at evening and continued until daybreak, when it ceases for the day during which time the worshipers remain in the lodge in perfect silence. Thus it is repeated from night to night six times, and at the closing of the last night they adjourn for an hour or two, and then finish the worship with the relation of the dream of some extraordinary personage, whose history has been preserved in tradition. They cease at noon of the last day.

To discharge the menial services incident to the meeting of [778] so large a body four servants are appointed, of whom two are males and two females. They sweep the council house at every interval of worship and perform any other duty required of them, for which they receive a compensation in wampum before the close of the meeting. To this stock of wampum when collected by the principal or leader of the assembly all contribute who have the means. Besides these officers, an old man of the juggling class is employed to keep order in the assembly. It is supposed he can tell by going around the lodge whether any [779] person has been polluted since the commencement of the worship, by connection with the opposite sex. To such person he points a stick and if he be a man the male servants lead him out of the lodge, from which he is expelled during the remainder of the worship. If a woman the same service is performed by the female domestics. The old inquisitor is dressed in the skin of a bear, with a frightful mask on his face, and is said to be a terrific object, particularly to those guilty of a breach of the customs of the assembly. His attention is often roused by the complaints of some one while telling his dream, who will stop and pretending to find a difficulty in speaking will ascribe it to the improper conduct of one of the members. Upon such occasion the old man commences his examination and his scrutinizing eye points out the object (perhaps innocent as himself) who is immediately removed, and the speaker continues.

During the intervals between the songs, or at least once every night, the principal rises from his seat and calls before him six or twelve persons (male) (generally the latter number) from the worshipers. He then delivers to the male servants a quantity of wampum in strings, corresponding to the number of persons called. With these the servants precede the chosen, who go out of the lodge and with their faces turned to the east, seat themselves upon their hams and commence a kind of howl, which they repeat in the same tone twelve times. They then return to the lodge with great solemnity, and take their places as usual. —As a kind of relaxation from the severer duties of the worship, these chosen men are directed by the principal to scatter a quantity of wampum in grains, upon the ground within the lodge. This is for the benefit of the servants, who are obliged to stand upon one leg and take it up with the thumb and finger, a slow method, affording amusement to the spectators. But this only occurs at the close of the night's worship and would be considered improper at any other time. Dancing is sometimes practiced at these assemblages and besides the employment of relating their dreams they are frequently addressed by the old men in exhortations to preserve these customs in their purity, to prolong their own existence by continuing the meetings, and to adore the author, the Great spirit. 796 577

MEDICINE

42. *Diseases*

To the list on the table ROGER WILLIAMS adds toothache as one of the greatest afflictions of the Indians (Narragansets); J. W., mumps; W. L., small pox. E. R. said that rheumatism was introduced only recently. 164

54. *Juggling tricks.*

The so-called juggling tricks were used only when the patient was dangerously ill, according to JOHN JOHNSTON. These tricks, according to J. W., W. T., and W. L., were used only by the sweat doctors in diagnosing a complaint. 755

57. *Rumbling noise made by jugglers*

755 [756] The rumbling noise made by jugglers mentioned in the earlier accounts was replaced by singing in the accounts of J. W., W. T., and W. L., all of whom said that the sweat doctor sang or talked about his vision which gave him his power to see into the vitals of the patient and determine the nature of his illness.

GENERAL MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

61. *Eating of human flesh*

266 [727] There is no statement about the eating of human flesh in LINDESTRÖM, but there is a description of torture by fire among the Minquas, and the inference is that such was not practiced among the Delaware and, also, that the eating of human flesh was not common if present at all.

62. *Handshaking*

576 JOHN JOHNSTON—[Salutation is] by shaking each other by the left hand as token of friendship considering the left hand to be the nighest to the heart. They say but little, except I am glad to see you your looks are familiar the countenance expressed gladness. (Shaking hands is an Indian, and they say an ancient custom.)

CAPTAIN PIPE—Their mode of salutation in meeting is not peculiar. They sometimes express a pleasure in seeing each other, at others the simple *Anishee*, (I am thankful,) is the only expression. They do not as with us, inquire after the health of their families, but of their business, route, etc. It is believed that shaking hand is an Indian custom, but before their knowledge of the whites they used the left hand. In the Engōmween, or worshiping assembly, where ancient customs are said to prevail altogether, they always use the left hand. [796]

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The mode of salutation is by shaking hands:—inquiries after healths succeed. The shaking of hands (say they) "was in use from the time they were created."

J. W. and W. L. say that using left hand was formerly Delaware custom.

784 825 **John Johnston**—Their principal reason is that the snake is such a malicious and spiteful animal that if they should kill them the rest would know it and would bite them.

Captain Chipps—They sometimes avoid killing snakes, on a march, because they say, "that if they kill one, the rest will be madder."

J. W.—Snakes were not killed unless necessary—"don't kill for nothing." Besides could tell good from bad snakes.

E. R. said that there were no rules against the killing of snakes and that he feared no retribution.

BIRTH AND ITS INCIDENTS

89. *Naming of child*

553 [796] **Captain Pipe**—Children are named at one of the grand worshiping councils, and as opportunities do not occur regularly, there is no particular age at which they are formerly [*sic.* formally?] named. (Children at times do not receive their names until they are quite large, at others while they are infants.) The child when about to be named is taken to the assembly and there presented to one of the old men (who is an orator and) of the same tribe with the father, together with a fathom of wampum for his services. This old man taking the child by the hand, rises and proclaims aloud his name, requesting all who hear him to [776] recollect. He then proffers a short prayer to the Great spirit in supplication for his blessing on the child during life; after which it is returned to its parents.

[846] 851 553 **Captain Chipps**—There are no christenings—or ceremonies at the birth of their children. After the birth, a year or two, sometimes less, the child is taken into council, and named. The father names and the preacher announces the name to the assembly in a speech of some length—in which, he congratulates the parents of the child—hopes the child may become a good boy and "prays to God" to make him a good man, a good hunter and a good warrior.

J. W.—Has never seen or heard of naming in Big House. Parents take child to grandparents, either side. They give him

224 622 roots up the grass in the position, [assigned to him] in the circumference, to the width of about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians, traveling away, whereby the circle through its decreasing is more and more contracted towards the center. When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm, then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals which they then have been blessed with, that not one can escape and thus they get a great multitude of all kinds of animals which are found there.

[782 776] ● 796 The first hunt of the year which they thus obtain (they consecrate to Manitto). When they first have eaten their fill of it and enjoyed their feast they make a burnt offering of the remaining, which they sacrifice to Manitto, i. e., the Devil, but not one animal of it do [they] sell, believing that they through this later will get in their hunt so much the greater blessing. Then they sing and dance and when they become jolly and happy then they cry and sing thus namely: *Hägginj, hā, hā, hā; Hägginj hā; Hägginj hā, Hägginj hā, hā, hā, hā,* etc. Thus repeating and continuing so long a time, so that it reaches well over the forest.

338. *Celebration on returning from hunting*

[782 776] W. T. said that prayers to the Great Spirit were made at this time, desiring that the favors shown the people be continued as they were appreciated.

CONSTITUTION, PERSONAL APPEARANCE, DRESS, ETC.

342. *Extirpation of beard*

302 [142] J. W. said that formerly the beard was pulled out but that recently the occasional use of a razor was all that was necessary.

W. T. and E. R. said that they never had any beards.

upon their folded skins. They are very exact and expert in these 535
dances. The first dance they call *En, gom, ween* and the other *Lin, ka, o, kon* all other dances which they have they say are borrowed from other nations and they will not own them to be theirs.

Captain Pipe—In the Engomween, or worshiping assembly, [796] ●
where ancient customs are said to prevail altogether, they always use the left hand. This dance, (for it may be so called,) and the Lĕñkaun, or common dance, are the only dances which they claim as original among them. All others are said to be borrowed.

In the first copy of Pipe's relation, "common dance" might be read "corn dance." This latter interpretation is entirely plausible in view of the fact that all the modern informants immediately recognized the name and the dance as the Doll Dance which involves corn.

450. *Buffalo dance*

J. W. stated that he had never seen the Buffalo dance but had heard his uncle (probably great-grandfather) tell about it. He thought it probably the property of the Turtle clan.

453. *War dance*

J. W. said that the Peace dance was formerly the war dance and 721
that the Delaware had not had a real War dance for some time. 535
He had seen it performed however. It was usually given along in August. J. W.'s wife's uncle had a vision that he must take part in a War dance and went among the Shawnee and danced. Took tobacco and made talk; told what happened on warpath, what he had to do even if he did not want to. Showed scalp. Danced in daytime from three o'clock to pretty near sundown. Bad dance. Real ones (warriors or brave men) painted themselves and dressed only in breechclouts and moccasins.

W. T. said the Delaware had formerly had a war dance but that he had never seen it.

E. R. said that War dance was also known as Man dance.

INTRODUCTION AND EXPLANATION OF THE CEREMONY

It has long been known that the Delaware Indians had a periodic 796
ceremony of paramount importance in fulfilling their obligations toward 175
a pantheon of spiritual forces. We learn something of such a
ceremony from indications occurring in the 17th and 18th century
sources, among which figure Denton (1670),[1] William Penn (1683),[2]
Brainerd (1745),[3] Zeisberger (1779-80),[4] Loskiel (1794),[5] and Heckewelder
(1771-86, 1818).[6] First from the casual writings of Dutch,
Swedish and English authors we get glimpses of the ceremony while
this famous and patriarchal nation was still residing in its haunts in
eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey. With the westward movement
of the tribe, first to the valley of the Susquehanna and later to the
Ohio country, the missionaries who attempted the conversion of the
Delawares have added their comments upon the great recurrent festival,
treating it in terms of cool description or in phrases of fervent [797]
condemnation according as their attitudes toward it were determined
by their profession.

In the accounts we have, the ceremony is referred to under various 796
titles, some in English, some in Delaware; Cantiko, (Penn, 1683), 174
Gamwing, (Zeisberger, 1779), χiŋgwi·ka'on, The Big House, The Annual 171
Ceremony. And it is not a little strange that even the oldest of them are recognized by corresponding terms still current in the language of the tribe at the present time, as clearly explainable today as though we were still holding conference with native priests and patriarchs who had talked with Penn and his contemporaries. That the great rite was of local interest in the religious life of the allied peoples

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[1] Denton's Description of New York, formerly New Netherlands, N. Y. 1670.

[2] William Penn. A Letter from William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania in America to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders of that Province Residing in London, London 1683 in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, of New Jersey and Delaware, Edited by Albert Cook Myers, N. Y. 1912, p. 234.

[3] David Brainerd, Memoirs of the Rev. David Brainerd, by Jonathan Edwards, New Haven, 1822.

[4] David Zeisberger. History of the Northern American Indians. Edited by A. B. Hulbert and W. N. Schwarze, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, n.d.

[5] George Henry Loskiel, History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians of North America, London, 1794.

[6] John Heckewelder, History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States, Edited by W. C. Reichel. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Phila. 1876.

796 comprising the Delaware Nation is evident from all sources. That it
174 ruled the spiritual destinies of the Munsee, the Nanticoke, the Mahikan,
171 we know through collateral evidence, and analogous rites are inferred to
have existed among the Mohegan on the east, the Powhatan peoples of
Virginia and the Algonkian of the Carolina coast. Testimony from
modern sources also points to a related performance of equal prominence
in the religious behavior of the Shawnee. It would be an oversight
besides, not to make reference to certain indications in the recorded
discussions of Iroquois and Central Algonkian religion, of
periodic ceremonies whose fundamental concepts form more or less
a unit with those of the nation we are considering. Such a widely
spread doctrine with associated rites of a unitary character assure
us of the existence in aboriginal times of a culture-center, as regards
creed, among the peoples of the Allegheny forest area, not only among
the widely scattered Algonkian-speaking peoples but among others
whose early history has been linked by some vague channels with them,
796 for instance the Muskogi and the Yuchi. If it is not going too far, I
174 would venture to repeat the assertion, often made by students of
human culture, that the religious concepts of preliterate people express
the keynote of their cultural status, that the same are to be regarded
as forming their most conservative culture properties, reflecting the
entire system of their culture in ramifications leading off to other topics
of ethnology, the food-quest, social organization, warfare, art-symbolism,
as well as rulings of simple custom and ethical character; indeed
where not? This assumption, as we shall see, holds true with amazing
consistency in the native civilization of the Delawares. While the previously
114 recorded accounts of Delaware ceremonies, some of them explicit
in detail and accuracy, have supplied occasional material for
comparative and analytical studies in the ethnology of the eastern
Indians, a feeling of dissatisfaction exists in regard to their content.
This has been sufficient to cause hesitation on the part of ethnologists
in using the records for the purpose of drawing culture conclusions
since the accounts have all been fragmentary and recorded in the words
of European observers instead of being based upon the expressions of
the natives.[1] To have such records made in the words, and with the
order and detail of thought of the people themselves is the highest
ideal of the student of human institutions, an ideal now set up as the
goal of endeavor in research. Accordingly when fate was moved
124 to provide me with a native Delaware informant in the person of
115 Wi·tapano'xwe, a Delaware whose early training, at the knees of his
mother, was of the native, non-Christian type, I need hardly say that
I laid aside every postponable obligation to devote attention to the

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[1] More recently we have been bequeathed the excellent studies of eastern Indian ceremonies in native text by students who have recorded them from the dictation of the Indians, such as Hewitt, Jones, Michelson and Bloomfield.

cover Delaware phrases. In the section giving the Delaware text 121 have been included footnotes explaining and analyzing terms which seem to require elucidation, or which through their idiomatic meanings seem to call for special notation in the eyes of the linguistic student.

In the free translation I have attempted to preserve the order, 128 emphasis, terms of thought and wording characteristic of native speech. It is obvious, however, that the translator can not adhere faithfully in his rendering to native traits of syntax and thought composition in all cases; the result would be in English quite unintelligible.[1] Even to attempt this as much as I have, may seem to some readers, not familiar with thought-processes in other than Indo-European tongues, to create confusion in idea, or at least to present some peculiarly twisted expressions. I may remark, however, that both points of view have been given careful and prolonged consideration before the translations have been released.

The text, as the informant dictated it, in the course of the four months during which we were engaged, seemed to unfold almost in the character of a canon. He showed a very thoughtful manner in arranging its parts and the wording, conveying the impression that certain sections or chapters had a formal sequence, that certain topics belonged inseparably with it, and that other matters which came in for discussion as we proceeded did not belong to it.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF THE BIG HOUSE CEREMONY.—The ceremony 796 which is the object of our study has borne several proper names in 552 historical literature. The formal designation seems to have been G·amwiŋg, a designation for the ceremony used by several of the earlier writers, and still recognized by the Delawares as being a proper term. Yet no explanation of its meaning, to be relied upon, is forthcoming from any of our sources.[2] Of equal prominence is the designation Xiŋwika'on, "Big House," which in the tongue of the Delawares is a favorite term of reference to both the edifice, or temple, in which the ceremony is performed, and the ceremony itself. This designation predominates in our text. The Delawares are not

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[1] Compare Zeisberger's remarks on the language (op. cit., p. 143). "They are able to express themselves with great clearness and precision, and so concisely that much circumlocution is required to convey the full meaning of their expressions in an European language."

That the language in the middle of the 17th century, even when only approximately recorded, is still intelligible to the Delawares, appears from the following. In David de Vries Notes (1632) (Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers (1912), p. 16), it is recorded on the 8th of December, that while moored in the lower Delaware River, the Indians declared they would "make a firm peace which they call *raconiyn marenit*." This is the equivalent of ma'wanlwəlaŋgu'ndi·n, "all agree to make peace."

[2] The term was no more capable of explanation in Zeisberger's day (1780), it would seem, than it is among the Delawares of today. He says, "This feast is called 'ngammuin, the meaning of which they themselves are unable to give. (op. cit., p. 138).

796 destitute of terms in their own language suitable for denoting relig-
552 ious concepts. We find such formal terms as paʷ'tamweɔ'k·an, an abstract term derived from paʷtam- signifying "to pray."[1] This I have translated in the text by variations of its free meaning, as "worship," "religion," "prayer ceremony" to suit the context. Again we find the abstract term kenaʷ'mwi·n employed as a synonymous title for the ceremony, for which I have been obliged to give the same rendering in English. And even another which was likewise noted by the missionaries of a century ago, ka'ntika, (kən·t'kaʷ· "he is dancing),[2] a composite term with the meaning of persons dancing in a line and pushing something forward, occurs in reference to the great ceremony as well as to other performances of a like nature in Delaware sacred conduct. And again we encounter the term menda'wən, with the meaning of "House of Earnest Pleading," employed in the text to denote the ceremony. The informant thought that this term might be of Munsee derivation.

779 These terms point to a theosophical system and practice among the
192 Delawares possessing considerable maturity of form and content. Indeed it impresses one, in meeting with the various religious terms employed in reference to the creed and practices of the tribe, that a well-rounded ecclesiastical system exists therein. There is little impoverishment of expression and much order and mature thought in the picturesque symbols developed within the complicated framework of figurative speech.

Such terms as "imploring in earnest," "sadness of mind," "blessed with fortune," "religious commandment," "customary teaching," "religious inspiration," "humility," "reverence," "ritual," appear with full voice of religious thought that we are accustomed to expect in religious forms of a relatively advanced character. They evince a

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[1] Terms of similar derivation occur in Algonkian dialects south of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes (paba't·am, Wabanaki dialects). Northward the designation is related to forms of Cree-Montagnais alamie'win, "prayer" comparable with Delaware aya'ndamən "to wish for, implore."

[2] A term denoting a ceremonial dance, with an interesting history. Chamberlain (Handbook Amer. Inds. Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 202) reviews the term Cantico, as employed by the Dutch and English, tracing reference to it to 1664 as designating a death dance, to 1653 (Van der Donck), describing it as singing and dancing of the young, Dankers (1679) as conjuring the devil, Denton (1670) as a festival time. Nelson (Indians of New Jersey, 1894, p. 79) cites Hesselius as calling *Kinticka* a sacrifice or a festive gathering of the New Jersey Indians. The Munsee form of the verb is *gintkaan* (Brinton, Lenape Dict. p. 40) while in Zeisberger's vocabulary it appears as *genigeen*. *Cantico*, or dancing matches at festival time in which the spectators beat time with a stick upon the ground and sing (Daniel Denton's Description of New York formerly New Netherland, 1670, quoted by A. B. Skinner, Indians of Greater New York, 1915, p. 34) while *Kintika*, mentioned by Gov. Printz of New Sweden, as a means of serving Satan among the Delawares (erroneously rendered by Johnson, as "holy man or medicine man," Amandus Johnson, The Swedes in Delaware. N. Y. 1911, p. 379, fn.,) may be the first appearance in European sources of the word as denoting ceremonial dancing. The stem occurs in dialects as far away as the Wabanaki (Malecite, *ginte'kmak*, "dance hard").

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Donck locating the Naraticons as the southermost tribe in New Jersey on Raccoon Creek, and adds the supposition that Naraticon, "is simply a translation of the Delaware nachenum,[1] raccoon." Evidence seems sufficiently strong to assign a location in southern New Jersey for a branch of the Delawares called Naraticons. We may, however disregard Brinton's attempt to explain the term, in faver of an attempt based upon this interesting term coming from native sources. The prominence of the name Naraticon on the map referred to and the extent of territory would seem to accord with its position as one of the three tribal constituents of the old Delaware nation. The term itself has interesting possibilties under analysis. In Delaware its correspondent nala'tʻkaŋg, "up stream where they live," (abbreviation of nalaha'təkaŋg, compare also nahi·'təkaŋg, "down stream where they live."

Harrington thought that the "Unala'tko" had lost their identity and merged with the Delawares in Oklahoma, since he was unable to locate survivors there under the name.[2] Heckewelder[3] refers to the Unami and Unalachtigo as the divisions of the Delawares that settled nearest to the sea. This author is responsible for recording the information that created the discussion arising since his time over "totemic affiliations" of the three geographical subdivisions of the Delawares with the Tortoise (Unami) Turkey (Unalachtigo) and Wolf (Munsee).

To the Delawares the Nanticoke are known as Wəneʻtʻko (plural wəneʻtʻkowak).[4] Some families of them migrated westward with the Delawares and kept up a distinctive form of burial as well as their language until about 1875. No information through living sources or printed records discloses testimony to indicate that this tribe performed the Big House ceremony. The informant had, however, heard the older Delawares in Oklahoma discuss the question of Nanticoke participation in the Big House. It is known that the Nanticoke performed in company with them, but it was not thought that the Nanticoke themselves had ever had the full ceremony.

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Ze[illegible]rger has treated the ceremonies of the Delawares of his day in a [illegible] covering some five pages of his book.[5] It would seem, however, if his narration is an accurate one and if his descriptions of the six or seven separate ceremonies were correctly observed and so separated in the religious practices of the tribe, that composition has taken place since his time. For the independent "feasts" which he describes are recognizable parts of the Big House ceremony and ritual of subsequent times. This nevertheless is an inference which further

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[1] Brinton I, op. cit. p. 42.
[2] Harrington I, pp. 13, 124-5, and II, pp. 208-9.
[3] Heckewelder op. cit. pp. 51-3 and 250.
[4] The meaning of the term in Delaware is obscure.
[5] Zeisberger, pp. 136-141.

information may alter. We can not be certain whether his integration of the rites was an actual condition holding true for the ceremony of the period, or one resulting from his style of writing down what he remembered of native customs after some years of retirement from the Indian country. The procedures followed by the Delawares in the four or five "feasts" he describes for us are all embraced within the Big House performance as we know it later. And, rather than discredit the force of living evidence based on the rites as performed by the Nation now, I would prefer to correct the information recorded by the observant but unsympathetic missionary. For, indeed, the ceremony shows itself to have a complex capitalization, its ritual extending through every form of worship, including individual, family or "clan rites," that we have mention of in any of the Delaware accounts. The Big House capitulates the elements of certain minor feast ceremonies held on special occasions by families.[1] The great annual ceremony seems to stand as an entity, one that does not submit to any assumption of recent origin in its present form of organization. Through the close resemblance it shows, element by element, with the Munsee corresponding ceremony, the two tribes were apparently performing it as a national religious institution before 1700, when they separated in the east, one division to go westward, the other to Canada. So it also seemed to Harrington.[2] 796 114

Unfortunately Heckewelder, who knew the Delawares so intimately, declined in his book to treat the topic of ceremonies, referring the matter to the previous narratives of Loskiel, whose knowledge we know was not gained from intimate contact with the tribe.

Reverting to consideration of the fate of the Big House in the succession of moves which the Delawares made in their two-century traverse from New Jersey to Oklahoma, we can only trace definite memory of the "temple" and ceremony to the final period of the tribe's residence in Kansas from about 1867 on. While in Kansas the Big House was located some five or six miles east of Lawrence. [167]

The informant gave the following facts concerning the reconstruction of the building and the rehabilitation of the ceremony after the tribe had settled down to residence in its present seat in northern Oklahoma. 796 346

"In the Cherokee country the Big House of Little Caney River was reorganized by men of the Yellow Tree or poplar band. Three men were pa·'man·axgu'xwe, ne'ni'pai, and chalu'xolə'nd, whose names in order mean "Man Moving Around," "The One Who Stands," "Man

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[1] Throughout the year there is a series of local feasts, some esoteric family ceremonies apart from the communal Big House worship. These are being studied in text and prepared for presentation in a separate memoir.

[2] I am drawing this inference of basic unity in fundamentals of the Munsee and Delaware forms of worship upon the conclusion reached by Harrington, pp. 196-197), after he had studied the Munsee rite.

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796 Who is Carried Around." Their descendents still carry the burden
346 of the worship. They belonged to the "Wolf" group (Tu'kʷᵉaiˡt). For this reason the Wolf group claims the right to sponsor these exercises now, and holds the majority rule in the present Big House deliberations. And in my judgment they will always rule hereafter. The present house was built three or four hundred yards to the southwest of the present spot but on account of its inconvenience it was moved to where it now stands, and one acre was set aside by the Dawes Commission. It was remodeled by us after a deliberation in September 1913.

796 "The ceremony has not been "taken in" for four years,[1] the last one
[735] being led by Frank Wilson (E'm·a'). Poverty has driven them to neglect it. And also the loss of the wampum beads which one time numbered about one hundred and twenty-eight Indian yards, all of which has nearly disappeared for it has been sold to other Indian tribes, to white people or to Museums as relics."

796 Speculations upon the origin of the ceremony would be quite out of
171 order from the ethno-historical point of view, but Delaware traditional history has no such hesitant attitude. As the myth develops we observe how the inception of the idea of the ceremony is laid to the revelation made in dreams to chosen leaders among the Munsee. Opinion seems quite general among the Delawares that the original conception of the ceremony is a Munsee one. This is interesting because it locates the ceremony in the northerly group of the three tribes forming the so-called Delaware Nation. It is fortunate that we have, from the pen of Harrington,[2] a treatise on the Munsee form of the Big House ceremony for the purpose of comparison and evaluation as far as the material provided in the several accounts will permit us to go. At present there seems little to point toward proof of priority for the Munsee phase of the worship, except for the quasi-historical estimate of the Delawares themselves. A feeling of respect for the Munsee is general among the Delawares. They are held in high esteem for their former bravery and, strange to say though natural enough in the regard held by Indians for such matters, for their indifference to economic and material affairs and devotion to those of a spiritual nature.[3]

648 ESOTERISM OF DELAWARE RELIGION.—In the missionary descriptions
797 of 170 years ago, chiefly from the pen of John Heckewelder, we hear constantly of the inner spirit of aversion held toward the whites, and the distrust felt by the natives concerning the motives of all Euro-

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[1] This was written in October 1928.

[2] Harrington I, pp. 127-161.

[3] Illustrative of this sentiment several Delaware observations may be recalled in reference to the Munsee. The latter, it would seem, are held in high esteem for their bravery and ability in spiritual matters, yet were noted for an indifference to dress and economic properties, in which respect the Delawares think they stood out in contrast with them.

those on the upright posts, three on the north wall and three on the 772
south wall, the man·i′t·u of these respective zones; those on the eastern 346
and western door posts, those of the east and west. Of the man·i′t·u 778
or "spirit-forces," both specific and general, more will be said later.

But the most engrossing allegory of all stands forth in the concept 796
of the White Path,[1] the symbol of the transit of life, which is met 778
with in the oval, hard-trodden dancing path outlined on the floor 772
of the Big House, from the east door passing to the right down
the north side past the second fire to the west door and doubling back
on the south side of the edifice around the eastern fire to its beginning.
This is the path of life down which man wends his way to the western
door where all ends.[2] Its correspondent exists I assume in the Milky [775]
Way, where the passage of the soul after death continues in the spirit
realm.[3] As the dancers in the Big House ceremony wend their stately
passage following the course of the White Path they "push something
along," meaning existence, with their rhythmic tread.[4] Not only the
passage of life, but the journey of the soul after death is symbolically
figured in the ceremony as will be explained in note III in the appendix.

The ceremony symbolizes the transit of the year period. Its twelve
nights of performance represent the figure of the twelve moons, its [805]
progress from east to west the course of the sun, its varied symbolical
rites the events in the passage of life's orbit from beginning to end.

We learn that the White Path is "our Father's, the Great Spirit's road," upon it human life proceeds in its course, which grand movement is symbolized by the dancers as they tread the "White Path" of the "Big House." By another allegory we have the clearing away of impediments from its surface in the intervals between the dances by the efforts of the Attendants who use the wing feathers of "pure" birds, such as the eagle; with which the "Path" is brushed clean. Here

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[1] We′'li·op·ele′xing. "Good or Beautiful White Path." Also we·lau′sit motoma′kan, "Righteous Path."

[2] The Delaware, like his Christian brother, admits that it is hard for feeble man to walk in this path without erring. The concept has deep possibilities for discussion from the point of view of ethics and life as the pagan sees them.

[3] The symbolical association between the "White Path" and the Milky Way is not definitely proved by Delaware information. By some strange circumstances it seems, the Delawares can not furnish the native name of the Milky Way. Persistent inquiry among the older men both at Dewey and at Anardarko, Oklahoma, by V. M. Petrullo have failed to procure it, likewise correspondence with Joe Washington and J. A. Parks, prominent members of the Delaware Nation. Therefore the association is my own theoretical assumption, an interpretation of our data, and upon the analogy offered by other Algonkian beliefs in which the Milky Way is generally the "Spirit or Ghost Path" over which the soul of the deceased passes to the realm above. The only Delaware equivalents for Milky Way so far obtained are pe′′mi·ki·ci′k′tek "across marked" or "across smoky way," and a notion that it is compared with a cowlick of hair, paχteanhwiŋg, "where the hair is parted," which may be discarded as far as their bearing upon the question here as concerned. This important point calls for solution.

[4] The term ka′nt·ka implies this figure. (See page 12).

796 is the symbol of the function of these noble birds, helpers of man, who
778 with their wings sweep the obstacles of disease and witch-craft from
772 the path which the Delaware treads to his final destiny.[1]

Among the many noteworthy poetical concepts of which Delaware
[774 imagination is capable is also the thought that the trees, themselves
824] spirit-forces, are calling forth in prayer to the Creator when the wind
blowing through their foliage causes a rustling, or sighing as we would say.[2]

As life proceeds on its course under the gaze of the Supreme Power through the entire universe, with his minions posted around about in their respective quarters, so the Delawares performing in the Big House gyrate in their symbolical course in the shadow of the carved images. The symbolism of the harmonized progression of the celestial and terrestrial plane-realms is consistently carried out in thought in every performance and ritual connected with the Big House. Then there are the minor symbols of force, "Grandfathers" likewise; the guardian of the game animals, represented by the Mask Spirit, the məsiŋ'holi·'kan, the tobacco, the cedar, the wampum, the red paint, the feathers, the winds.

796 An essential point to the understanding of the Big House ceremony is that it is conducted under the sponsorship of one of the three subdivisions of the tribe.[3] And while the obligation as well as the honor of conducting the ceremony fall collectively upon the members, there is one among them who has personally assumed the religious duty involved in issuing the invitations, in appointing the officers for the different branches of service, and particularly in defraying the numerous expenses which arise in connection with bringing so many people together for a fortnight.[4] The responsibility of the occasion is voluntarily assumed by the giver, or as he is called in Delaware, tami·'"ke't', the Bringer-in." Men imbued with a desire to acquire a spiritual blessing through their religious attitude, or to recognize some blessing enjoyed, are usually the ones who answer to the inner call of duty.[5]

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[1] The significance of using feathers of the nobler birds comes out in Delaware in the carrying of fans made of eagle and hawk feathers, in the wearing of feathers in the hair, and in the use of the decorated feather wand in the recently introduced Peyote ceremony. The feathers dispel evil influences from the umbrage of their wearers, the fans sweep away malevolent agencies.

[2] This passage is contained in the text of a prayer made at the opening of spring-time dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe.

[3] The three sub-divisions of the Delawares, the so-called Tortoise, Turkey, and Wolf groups, have evoked no small amount of discussion (Morgan, Brinton, Harrington). They are, however, not yet thoroughly understood. Some facts connected with these groupings are dealt with farther along, though only so far as they require mention in connection with the Big House.

[4] The informant estimated the cost of performance to be about $150.00.

[5] Since, moreover, there is the conviction that welfare of man at large rests upon the performance of the ceremony, that a world catastrophe is warded off by it, the attitude of the host is one pervaded with generous altruism. (Compare Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 136; and Harrington, I, p. 115).

It is expected that the announcement be made before the members of 796 the tribal council at one of its meetings prior to the time of notification. In the instance of our text Wi·tapano'xwe decided to recite the ceremony as though it were brought in and sponsored by Chief Elk-Hair, the present head chief of the Oklahoma Delawares whom Harrington referred to as an active ceremonial leader in 1910.[1]

CONCEPT OF THE SOUL.—A distinction observed between the phrase- 774 ology of the unconverted and the Christian Delawares in referring to the soul, which has already been mentioned, is of some significance in this connection. The former group employs the term lənapeɔ'k·an "human sign, or evidence of existence." The terminal element, -ɔk·an appears in combinations leχᵉleᵉ·'χeᵉyɔ'k·an "breath of life, actual life" meaning "my life"[2] (leᵉxeᵉ'yan, "my breathing"), wihilaᵉ'ɔk·an "clan-name emblem." Its obscure abstract meaning, however, seems to lie beyond the scope of any specific English equivalent. The Christian Delawares use the term tci·'tcaŋg giving the significance in Delaware of an image, an appearance visible but without substance, an incorporeal image or phantom as an image in a mirror. The same term actually designates a mirror in the language.

The second term, now of the Christian Delaware religious vernacular, has a wide distribution among eastern Algonkian languages indicating that, while the synonomy noted has taken place in Delaware since the introduction of Christianity, the element tci·'tcaŋg for soul is an archaic property of the family of tongues.[3]

We are told that the soul leaves the body twelve days after death, [775] that the life blood (ᵐhukʷ) remains as a spirit on the earth, whence arise ghosts or phantoms.

The heart is the seat of one soul, the blood the seat of another spir- 774 itual element. The heart and blood should be kept together after death 764 (for which reason the Delawares do not believe in embalming). The blood of the dead is the element from which the dead reappear to the living on earth in the form of ghosts. It is considered as the cause of paralysis and so was curable through appeal to the dead. We might refer to the funeral rites of the tribe which carry the burial customs over twelve days after death when certain feasting and rites are performed at the home of the deceased. And again these are repeated twelve months later in a yearly ceremonial feast to the dead. At the [769] feast the opposite clan group has an important part to play.

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[1] Harrington I, pp. 14, 87.

[2] A more general term for "life," in Delaware, is pəma'usowak·an, with the sense of "being among the living."

[3] Mitschitschank, Munsee (Brinton, Lenape Dictionary, p. 83): djedja'kʷ, Wabanaki (St. Francis and Penobscot); atca'kʷ (Montagnais-Naskapi); tca'tcung (Mohegan-Pequot); (mi)chachunck, (Natick, where the analogy between soul and mirror is also found (Trumbull, Natick Dictionary, pp. 325, 290, 571); and the same in Narragansett, (Roger Williams, Key to the Indian Language, p. 113); and (mit)tachonkq in the Quiripi dialect of western Connecticut.

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being, taken from the discussions of Zeisberger and Harrington, I 778
will let Wi·tapano'xwe place forth in his own words the pertinent 532
remarks relative to it which he dictated to me.

THE MASK DANCE.—The False Face, or Mask, performance seems 796 to possess indications of being an archaic mask-ceremony admitted into the annual Big House ritual during some phase of its later development. It bears some analogies suggestive at once of the game-owner concept that is met with among the Algonkian hunter-nomads of the far north, the Montagnais-Naskapi. In particular we note that the mask and bear-hide clothing are kept away from the precincts of the Big House until the time assigned for their appearance by permission of the master-of-ceremony. The Mask dancer does not remain long in the Big House, nor is his action there in any sense an obligation. Occasionally no one volunteers for the dance and then it is omitted. The informant himself had assumed the rôle several times and he seemed to regard it as lacking in theological significance from the point of view of the Big House doctrine. He related in this connection, how the chief function of the Mask dancer was to frighten children before and after his appearance in the *Big House. The songs* accompanying the Mask-Spirit dance (məsiŋgkə'n·t'ke') were not completely known to him. In one of these the words refer to the Mask-Spirit riding on the back of the deer.[1]

The Mask-Spirit seems to hold potency of both good and evil influence. There is the narrative of a man (Ben Horse) who had come under the power of the Mask-Spirit to such a degree that he was occasionally subjected to its control and fell to performing the antics of the Mask dancer to the point of dementia. A medicine-doctor called upon to free him from this influence ordered him to make a mask and perform the dance at certain times. This eventually cured him and he became the custodian of his mask and developed into a Mask-dancer. An insight into the function of this rite is also given by the narrative of another, a woman, terrified by the Mask-Spirit requiring similar remedial treatment of the mask. And we also hear of some children once so frightened that they ran several miles from the camp and were overtaken with difficulty by their parents whom they took also to be masked pursuers in their confusion of flight.

The Mask-Spirit as a potentially malicious spirit is clearly totally different in conception from six carved faces, "our grandfathers," appearing on the posts of the Big House.

We are taught in the text that the məsi'ŋk'həli·'kan is like the 796
other man·i't·u deserving of adoration for the blessing he bestows upon 776
hunters in allowing them to kill the deer, over whom he seems to act

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[1] Another reflection of the tale known as Caribou-Man among the Naskapi of the north.

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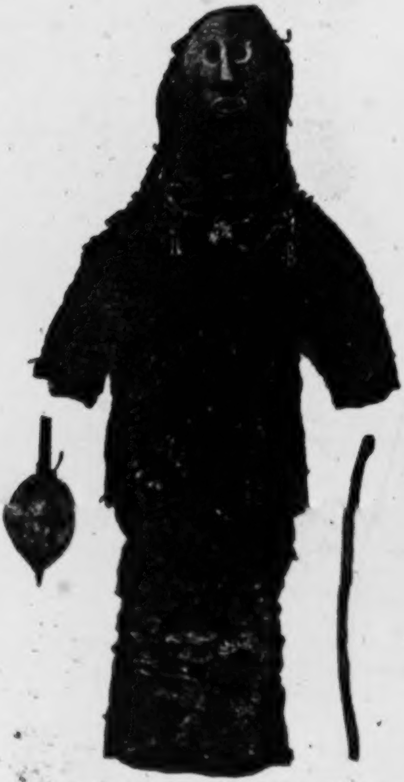

Fig. 9—Costume worn by impersonator of Misinghali'kun. After Harrington.

the part of custodian.[1] Harrington felt that this was the "most 796
remarkable deity of the Lenape," who was "made guardian by the 776
creator of all the wild animals of the forest, and was sometimes seen riding on the back of a buck, herding the deer; but he lived in a range of rocky mountains. His face is large and round, the right half being painted red, the left black, while his body is covered with long black hair like that of a bear."[2]

A certain amount of supernatural ability seems to be required of the individual who is to wear properly and display the mask. One who has this spiritual quality to a high degree finds himself able to see as well when wearing the mask, despite the smallness of the eye-openings, as though he were bare-eyed. His spiritual power, we are told, is thus tested; he partakes of the qualities of the prophet, kaci·lə'sə·u "great man." Other notes on the wearing of the mask are to be found in the text, page 93.

Before passing on, however, reference should be made to customs concerned with the mask recorded by the authors mentioned above. Zeisberger describes this as follows:

"The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly 778
be called an idol, is their Wainkhoalican, that is image. It is an
image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which [532]
they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.[3]

Brainerd had occasion to observe the performance of the Mask- 796
Spirit in 1745, on the upper Susquehanna, and wrote of the appearance of the Mask Dancer with "a coat of bear skins, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear skin stockings; and a great wooden mask painted, the one half black, the other half tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bear skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music, in his idolatrous worship, which
was a dry tortoise shell with some corn in it, and the neck of it [534]
drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle."[4]

There seems, however, to be something omitted in recording these 778
facts. A much more intimate connection between the mask itself and

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[1] A hunter's taboo, founded supposedly upon some ancient principle of altruism, is that the first deer or other animal killed by the hunter be not eaten. The meat is given to some older person. The slayer never gets even a bite. Some phase of this rule is to be noted for every northern Algonkian tribe, though in no case have I as yet been fortunate enough to elicit a religious reason for it among the hunters who follow the practice.

[2] Harrington, 1, p. 32-33.

[3] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 141.

[4] Brainerd, op. cit., p. 237.

the spiritual force represented by it is apparent. The being 778 itself seems to be incorporated in the mask image. The latter become more truly a fetish than the carved images representing the deities in the Big House. Its presence is a source of active power, for the most part, directed toward maleficence. This I think is brought out in several records which the informant dictated to me, tracing the [753] presence of disease and misfortune to the possession of masks representing the human face, both large and small, in families who had, through some event, come into possession of them. Possession seems not always to have been voluntary and in such cases the owners were obliged through the revelations given them in dreams to perform [787] periodic rites, called feasts, to annul their malefic potencies. I am led to believe that this explanation is a valid phenomenon associated with mask likenesses; one omitted from the explanations given us by the authors cited.

We learn in this connection that once a year, generally in the summer, 796 the mask image was given a dance and feast of hominy by the 778 family in whose custody it remained. The express purpose of this rite was to provide it enjoyment and nourishment as a means of conciliation beyond what was accorded it by being brought out during the performance in the Big House. In such a family the mask must be disposed of in a ceremonial manner should it be desired to discontinue the obligatory rites, or should the family die out. Tradition requires the mask in this case to be buried, as the informant states, lest the effects of neglect of the mask be handed down to relatives. One is reminded, in learning of this reverential attitude toward the masks, of the frequency with which carved stone faces have been exhumed in the territories previously inhabited by the Delawares. The Museums of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York possess a number of specimens of the faces, which have been briefly discussed and illustrated by Harrington.[1]

The family in which fell the custody of the False Face was the Pəla'ciman "Frenchman," family of the Wolf group. The wife of Frenchman was the person who had hereditary ownership of the mask. Her descendants, the McCartlain family (Turkey group), were next in succession but being inclined toward Christianity the rite was neglected by them. Subsequently Julius Fouts, Pet·ane'hiŋg, "Threw Him Here," of the Tortoise group, took charge of the mask. Being afraid that it might be destroyed by worms while in his possession which might have brought sickness to his family as a consequence, Fouts turned it over to Peᵃmatae'kamən, "Moving-Flowers Man" (George Bullette) of the Fowl group. By the latter it was sold out of the tribe and finally found its errancy terminated in an exhibition case of the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation). (Fig. 10).

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[1] Op. cit., I, pp. 32-43.

796 778 The mask rite, says Wi·tapano'xwe, is an individual or family, not a group rite. The record of the change of hands through which it passed, going into each of the three groups at different times, brings out this act.

[562] Since it happened that the custody of the mask fell to Delaware women as well as to men, there seems to have been no restriction as to sex in the office of keeping the masks as reported for the Iroquois. The same is true of the corn-husk masks. As among the Iroquois the Delaware wooden mask was kept face down when not in use, but only, the informant added, because the cloth covering at the back would make this position more convenient. We are impressed with the ruling that the mask could not be played with nor worn for social masquerading.

174 796 776 To the ethnologist, however, the significance of the Mask-Spirit is deep. The whole question of the trait which it represents in the customs of the Delawares is fraught with the possibilities of an archaic northern background, into which fits a series of beliefs and practices extending across boreal North America through northeastern Asia. The game owner concept, in short, stands forth in high relief among the far northern Algonkian. Its most intense development appears among the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula.[1] For the region of the Great Lakes among the Central Algonkian we have as yet no records to substantiate the existence of the Game Owner concept so far south. The Delaware case is accordingly one of noteworthy bearing. Before passing by what Delaware belief has to contribute to the Game Owner concept in general the information pertaining to the mask spirits to be given in a text reserved for the later publication should be considered.[2] Here an account is recorded in which masks made of corn-husks are worn by messengers who go about announcing the occasion of a corn ceremony. The personification of the spirit of corn seems intended in the wearing of such a mask.

825 773 778 THE TORTOISE AS A SYMBOL.—Outlined in particularly high relief is the tortoise. In the latter creature we have the symbol of life, of perseverence, longevity and steadfastness. As the Delaware patriarch says, "The tortoise is the earth; is life." In the procession of time and among the elemental nature forces the direction of movement is from east to west, according to Delaware belief. So moves the tortoise with measured pace across the earth and through the Big House, carrying out the mythical allegory. At the end of his journey at the "western door," meaning where the sun sets at the edge of the

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[1] Extended treatment of the religious beliefs and philosophy of the northern peoples, so far as the Game Owner concept is concerned, will be available for the students of religious customs of pre-literate peoples when manuscript now in course of preparation shall have been published.

[2] To form another volume of this series.

Not only are wild animals pure in contrast with domestic brutes in 783
the sense embraced by the term, but youths who have completed the 881
puberty vigil and acquired their guardian spirit are also pi·'łsi·t, "clean,
uncontaminated, spiritually purified," as opposed to those who have
not. For instance one of the signs denoting the transition from pre-
adolesence in boys to the "purity of manhood" is in the voice. They
say that the youth is expected to remain in solitude during his vigil
until his voice has changed completely, by which time he is then pi·'łsi·t.
It will be noticed also that the term is applied to fire made by the [972]
pump-drill at the Big House ceremony, pi·'łsi·t' tə'n·da', "clean fire,"
the unadulterated new fire made without matches or other unclean
materials; the latter being cəwa'n·akwi· tə'n·da', "white man's fire,"
or mat·a pi·'łtak, "not pure." The sacred character of pure fire is
shown in its honorific synonym muχo'ᵐsən·a, "our grandfather," the
source of healing.

Spiritual purity, however, is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but 783
rather (like the Hebraic takor) through the observance of taboo regu-
lations prescribed by ancient rulings.[1] Foremost among these are the [841]
restrictions placed upon the freedom of women in their catamenial
periods, and the carrying out of dietary usages based upon the classi-
fication of animals as clean and unclean. Another evidence of the
individual being spiritually pure is to have been blessed with a vision [787]
bestowed by a supernatural power. Such individuals are pi·'łsi· in a
high degree. They are indeed the mainstays of the Big House ceremony. They are in blessed communion with the man·i't·u, bringing into the Big House their spiritual media, the controls under which their destinies are moulded. Again to be pi·'łsi· is to have gone through all the native teachings. And to live with a guileless character, child-like, is sufficient to entitle a man or woman (irrespective of marriage or celibacy) to be referred to as pi·'łsi·t lən'·o "pure, clean, man," or pi·'łsi·t xkweᵘ', "pure, clean, woman," as a child is pi·'łsi·t mi·'məs. The above may serve to outline at least the Delaware concept of personal holiness and unholiness as it is expounded in the text.

Being Blessed With a Vision. The Performers in the Ceremony. 787
The main active parts in the ceremony are performed by those who 796
have been blessed with revelations by spiritual-forces, the man·i't·u.
These are the pure men, and also in a minor rôle, the pure women.
The word element aŋg'oˢ seems to be the generic designation for the
condition of being blessed with a spiritual revelation through a vision.
By this is meant the visitation from some man·i't·u coming at some 787
period in the life of the individual who is spiritually deserving from
the point of view of his reverence for spiritual forces for his observance
of the arbitrary rulings of religious doctrine, and adherence to logically

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[1] A taboo is denoted by the term kwul·aˢ'gan, "something forbidden."

787 different cases as remembered by the informant seems at present more to the point than to attempt rationalistic discussion.

[792] Those who have acquired visions and who perform the act of reciting and leading dances are the spiritual leaders of the tribe. They are known, with an air of distinction, as wehendji·kane'itᵉ, a designation that I am scarcely capable of literally translating into English, but which is explained to mean, according to Wi·tapano'xwe, the act of dancing in a line close to one another in a formation like segments of a vertebra.

In the text we are given the recitation of several of those who had visions, whose sermons, as they might be called, were more distinctly remembered by the narrator from his having heard them on various occasions. Most noteworthy, however, is his own recitation, the time and circumstances of which are given in the translation with such notes as seemed needed. Other versions of spiritual visitations not recorded in text but of sufficient merit to be made available for students of Algonkian psycho-social phenomena have been included in a section of the appendix (note I).

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796 In the act of reciting the vision within the Big House the performer (eᵉlhik·aᵃs·i·t') carries the tortoise rattle, called the "leading rattle." At his side dances the "follower," whose function is to repeat the leader's phrases and answer the leader's rattle with a shaking of his own rattle, called the "follower's rattle." This individual bears the formal designation we'teᵘgas·i·t' "follower."

Now is manifestly the time to bring in some explanation of the manner in which the visionary proceeds to declaim his revelation and to intone the chant which he has composed relative to the appearance of the man·i'tu and the effect it produced upon his feelings when it appeared to him. This is essential to the understanding of the ceremony. Reference to the accompanying sketch of the floor plan of the Big House (fig. 12) will be necessary.

The reciter alternately recites his vision and dances. While reciting, now shaking the rattle by a horizontal motion of the forearm, he stands in one place (A) while the dancers who have taken their places in the line behind him pause likewise. At the end of the stanza he bends his head, shakes the rattle vertically and dances down the line of the beaten path, or the White Path with a shuffling step, while the drummers repeat the same stanza that he has just declaimed as accurately as they can. So by alternating pauses and advances the reciter and leader covers the circuit of the dancing path within the Big House until, having led his followers once around, he arrives at a point near where he had begun his act. Here (at G) he leaves the oval course heading toward the center post. At a point about half way to the center (H) he pauses again for one of the stanza recitations then dances to the image facing the western door, recites another

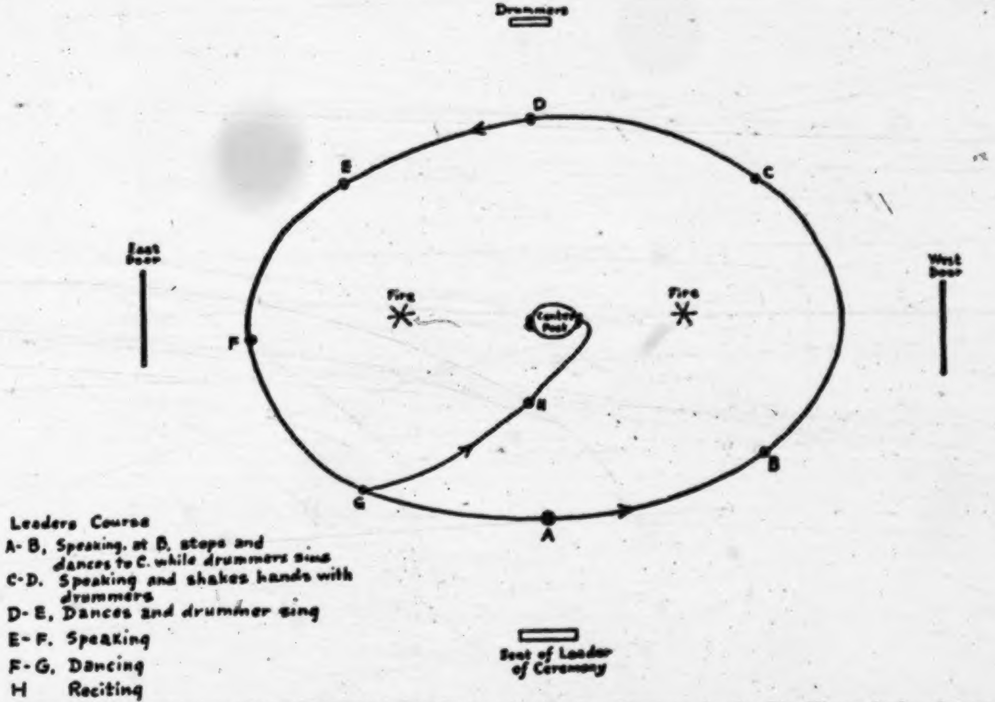
Drummers
D
E
C
East Door
West Door
Fire
Center Post
Fire
F
H
B
G
A
Leaders Course
A- B, Speaking. at B, stops and dances to C. while drummers sing
C-D. Speaking and shakes hands with drummers
D- E, Dances and drummer sing
E- F. Speaking
F- G, Dancing
H Reciting
Seat of Leader of Ceremony

Figure 12—Diagram of "Beautiful White Path," the circuit of performers in the Big House during dances.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931

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stanza, whereupon they utter the prayer-call and raise their hands to 787 "lift the prayer." Then he leads his dancing file around the post 796 until he stands before the image facing the eastern door where they pray again. Experience and the use of good judgment in spacing the distance to be covered during the dancing intervals teaches the reciter to time his progress and pauses so that all will work out rightly. I have indicated on the diagram (fig. 12) the approximate stations, indicated by letters, at which the pauses would occur in a vision recitation of ordinary length.

It should be remembered that the "follower," or "after-time" man, any one of the group brothers of the reciter, is one who follows close behind the reciter throughout the round of the White Path and rattles alternately with the leader. As many men and women, as desire may join the dancing group and keep behind them.

When reaching the place where the drummers sit, it should be noted that the reciter stops and shakes hands with them, calling them by various kinship terms in a low emotional voice. Those who are in the dance line do the same. At the conclusion of this act of greeting he goes back to D, where he stopped singing, and resumes his dancing while the drummers repeat his chant. As he dances past the drummers he faces them dancing sideways instead of straight forward as ordinarily. This is a gesture of deference in recognition of the importance of the part they play.

Thus the reciter's narrative proceeds, beginning with the prelude, in which are given mention of the circumstances connected with the coming of the spiritual visitor. Some cryptic references are made to the spirit's appearance or to the guise in which it had shown itself; while in the interludes come the chant of adoration, the reciter's song recitative. He becomes a spiritual hero sounding his spiritual triumph, praising the Person, or Being, who revealed himself to him. The reciter becomes so thoroughly familiar with his personal relation through frequent rehearsal night after night, year after year, that it soon becomes a formula in his mind. Its phraseology develops into a litany, its alternating paragraphs of prose and chanting likewise become familiar to the ears and capable of repetition not only by the drummers, whose duty it is to echo his stanzas, but to the audience seated round the temple as well. In this way the performances of the leading personages of the ceremony assume the nature of common psycho-literary property. And we understand forthwith how Wi·tapano'xwe had arrived at a point where several of the recitations had become imbedded in his memory.

Whereas the major performance of the recitation of dance rites in the Big House falls to the lot of the senior reciters there is an opportunity provided, through a spirit of religious co-operation, for the younger men and women, who have had spiritual experiences of a

787 minor sort, to rehearse their parts, and to give and to receive the
796 blessings accrued through enacting their parts. The open period for minor performers is on the twelfth night at the conclusion of the series of night rituals. This phase of the ceremony is denoted by the term a^{s}teho'mwi·n which freely rendered means "the-performance-after-letting-the-fires-go-out."

The significance of these concluding rites lies in the understanding that the religious complex of the great ceremony has passed its climax. The performances of the men blessed with the visitations of supernatural beings have been done to their satisfaction, the Great Spirit has been duly regarded and invoked for further consideration of his people. And now to mark the subsidence of religious tension under which all have been held for the past twelve nights, the master actors, visionaries and reciters, retire from their high calling, and the hegemony is given over to those whose motives are perhaps as estimable but whose performances are still unperfected—the women and the younger men. The ceremony now takes on the figurative designation a^{s}teho'mqi·n, having reference to "performing after letting the fires go out."[1] We have observed that after the ceremony of the twelfth night the two fires in the Big House, "their grandfathers," were not replenished with fuel by the attendants and that before closing for the night the ashes were ceremonially taken out. Henceforth on the last morning the dancing and singing is of a lower order of sanctity since this "grandfather," fire, is not a witness to it. The time for the shorter recitations of the inexpert youths and the ceremonially less important women has thus arrived, in accordance with which attitude we see a change of mien and the subsidence of the spirit of reverence maintained so painstakingly heretofore. The occasion is the time for rehearsal by the youths who have, on account of their age, only a minor part to play, but who after some years of this sort of thing will make their initial essay in the regular nightly rounds of recitation. It is thus in the "dimming of the light of the sacred fires" that they appear in the modified-service, when the ceremony is no longer "going with full strength."

796 Besides those men gifted with a vision who recite and lead the dancers around the White Path, there are other personages called acka^{w}'sək, "attendants" (singular, acka^{w}'s) whose official duties are recognized as being of a high grade of sanctity in the Big House. Of these there are three males and three females, the pairs chosen from each of the three so-called totemic groups respectively (Pəle^{w}, Pukowa'ŋgo, Tu'k^{w}si·t). Their selection rests at the option of the individual who "brings in the ceremony." During the period of the performance the Attendants are lodged in six canvas tents ranged in two rows op-

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[1] a^{s}'te "to burn out," referring to fire, kwunali·i·'na a^{s}'te nɛta'n·dai "let go out the fire."

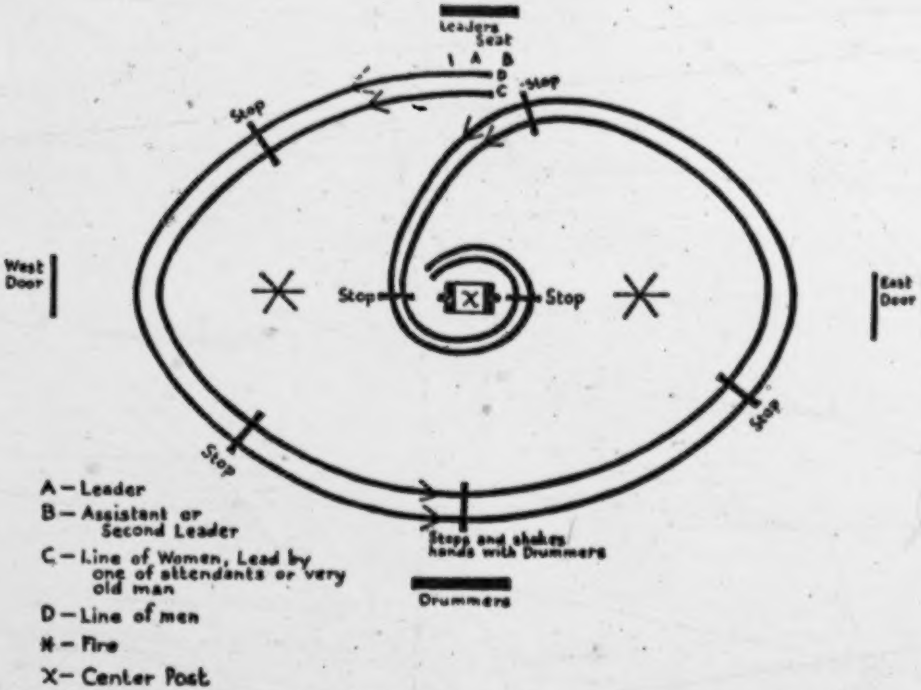
Leaders Seat
1
A
B
D
C
Stop
Stop
Stop
Stop
Stop
Stop
West Door
East Door
X
Stops and shakes hands with Drummers
Drummers
A — Leader
B — Assistant or Second Leader
C — Line of Women, Lead by one of attendants or very old man
D — Line of men
✱ — Fire
X — Center Post

Fig. 13—Diagram showing dancing circuit in Big House on final day of ceremony (Atehowmwin)

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796 posite each other in front of the east door of the Big House, the men in the tents of the north row and the women in those of the south. The labors of the Attendants include the duties of the janitor, the gendarmerie, and the commissariat. The men's staff of office is a hickory pole with a shaved end, about 8 ft. long, with which they can poke at boisterous children or flay intrusive dogs in the Big House. Their functioning, however, is sacramental to a degree that can hardly be understood by the European who associates such menial and servile tasks only with profane employment. The Attendants at the Big House ceremony are highly honored with their position as workers whose services, as they are observed by the Great Spirit and the lesser deities, are bringing deep blessing not only to themselves but to the whole of mankind. Their pay is ceremonially given in the form of wampum which at the conclusion of the ceremony is redeemed in currency at a value determined now by the rarity of the beads. Of their other duties the sweeping the "White Path" in the Big House after each circuit of the dance, the kindling of the sacred fire with the fire drill, keeping the worshipers from falling asleep, driving dogs away from the premises and other labors, constant but blessed, we shall learn more in the footnotes given with the text.

MATURITY REQUIRED BEFORE RECITING IN THE CEREMONY.—The big House stands out in Delaware thought as the scene of performance destined only for those of mature spiritual strength. The complete exclusion of men under the age of 35 indicates that religious sentiment will hardly permit the appearance of a tyro as a reciter of vision and dance leader on any of the formal nights of the ceremony. This age seems indeed to be the age of "reason." The try-outs of younger men are permitted on the twelfth night during which the women take over the conduct of the ceremony. On this night the younger men who have had visions but whose "nerve" is weak, or whose mastery of his recitation and song is uncertain, make their essays along the line of leading. Their attempts are frequently met with derision it would seem. The informant recalls hearing of one occasion even when a respected elderly man, old Captain Curlyhead, made his first appearance on the White Path and launched his recitation, faltered, missed on the formal words and sequence, and retired shortly amid the derision of the spectators. He never attempted the thing again although his vision was known to be a good one and his social standing was high.

Younger men are cautioned not to undertake the recitation unless they are well enough qualified to carry it out without provoking ridicule or even bringing on censure of the older veterans. For they hold the opinion that it is folly for the young to attempt understanding of the mysteries and rites before the involuntary spiritual-mental awakening arrives during middle-age. When this realization of responsibility and maturity comes to the individual he feels that he is called to 796 take his place in the annual ceremony. A new vision of life dawns upon him. He realizes that he has been brought into the world for a purpose and permitted to live to middle-age to raise children, take care of the aged relatives, help the people to health and comfort. Then there is also the feeling that others are observing him as an example of conduct. So he assumes his responsibility and prepares to appear in the Big House ceremony.[1]

We are told that the Big House performances were originally esoteric. Whites were excluded from it during the ceremonies, though in recent years the objection to their presence has been withdrawn due 582 144 to intermarriage between Delaware women and white men.

The virtue of humility, so extolled and propogated in the philos- 183 ophy of the Delawares, and the Iroquois[2] as well is one to which too little emphasis has been given by students. Historians, in particular those contrasting the humility of the evangelists with the contemptuousness of the natives, have ignored the declarations of ethnologists in this respect.[3]

THE SYMBOL OF TWELVE.—Allusion has previously been made in 801 several places in our discussion, to the sanctity of the concept of twelve, the reason for which among the Delawares seems not to be objectively expressed.[4] Twelve is nevertheless a fundamental symbolical number. Throughout the text we hear of the Great Spirit residing in the twelfth stratum of the sky; of the prayer-call addressed to him uttered twelve times in succession; of the twelve prayer sticks or wands which lift the prayer to the twelfth heaven. The Big House ceremony itself is of twelve days' duration. The belief being that each day's performance lifts the worship a stage higher in the series of twelve successive sky levels until on the final day it reaches the Great Spirit himself.

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[1] Maturity is an important consideration with the Delawares. Among many 885 facts still to be obtained in regard to restrictions of boys under the age of 224 puberty, for instance, it may be interesting to note that these when they 825 become old enough to take part in the hunt, are not allowed to eat soup lest their testicles rattle so warning game animals ahead of them, or to eat the heart of the animal lest they lose courage; or the animal's head, eyes, or ears lest they be bothered with gnats.

[2] A. C. Parker, The Code of Handsome Lake, Bull. 163. New York State Museum, Albany, 1912.

[3] For example Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J.[3] tells his readers, "The red man had never much respect for the virtue of humility, and the young missionary (referring to Marquette among the Illinois) was treated rather contemptuously by many of the degraded wretches whom he was trying to regenerate." Pioneer Priests of North Amer. N. Y. 1911, Vol. III, p. 169.

[4] The importance of seven in Delaware thought has been stressed by A. L. Kroeber (Anthropology, N. Y. p. 252, j. n. 1) without giving the source. There seems to be no evidence of this in the material at hand.

801 [823] * The Delawares also point out the occurrence of thirteen plates in the carapace and twelve in the plastron of all the members of the American tortoises and turtles, bordered by twelve marginal plates on each side. Another evidence in native thought of the tortoise as being a living symbol of the Universe.

Again we hear of a medicine compound prepared from twelve different herbal ingredients employed by the Delawares to cleanse them from sin.[1]

801 796 The prominence of the twelve concept as a unit of time in Delaware chronology of ritual is not to be overlooked, for we learn in the ruling of the funeral ceremony that the first post-mortem rites are performed twelve days after the day of demise, and that the concluding ceremony is carried out the twelfth moon after the event.

Of great interest also is the fact that the Delaware finds symbolical illustration of the concept of the twelve strata of heavens in the occurrence of twelve tail feathers in the plumage system of the birds. The allegory is carried out in the Peyote ceremony as performed by the Delawares, in the particular rite that is called the Young Men's Meeting. On this occasion, twelve sticks, six on each side, are used in building the fire near the center of the Peyote lodge, the fire being the symbol of the moon. A mound of earth, with the arrangement of the sticks referred to, forms the symbolical outline of the body and tail of the eagle. And when these twelve sticks burn down they leave twelve stumps again representing the tail feathers of the eagle. The Peyote rites of different groups vary in many particulars, a comparison of which would determine whether or not the above is exclusively a Delaware belief injected into the now widespread Peyote cult.

801 192 Before leaving the discussion of the number concept, it should be noted that the formal expression denoting twelve in the ceremonial vernacular is archaic; ata'x ɔk ni'ca, "ata'x, (ten) and two," instead of "te'l·an, (ten) and two." Delaware tradition informs us that ata'x is an ancient term for ten prescribed by usage in the ceremony while in common speech te'l·an denotes ten. In looking over earlier Delaware vocabularies we find the use of the common term indicated through the period of early contact in vocabularies recorded by Campanius (1645), Thomas (1695), Ziesberger (1750), Whipple (1855), in which the cognates are *Thaeren, Telen, Tellen, Telen.*[2] In a Delaware vocabulary taken down in New Jersey (1792) attributed to Thomas Jeffer-

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[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 134.

[2] Brinton I, p. 96. Comparative vocabularies from these sources are quoted. In a Swedish source, attributed to Campanius (Lutheri Catechismus öfwersatt på American-Virginiste Språket, Stockholm, (1696), the form thaeren is given for "ten." Swedish, like Delaware, has in its recent development, under a change producing an *l* from the earlier *r* which in both instances may have had an *l* quality (Dr. A. J. Upvall). See also Amandus Johnson, Geographia Americae, op. cit., 289.

son, the same form (*tǘlwun*) occurs.[1] The same term for the decimal 801
occurs in cognate form throughout practically all the northern and 192
eastern Algonkian tongues.[2] Is it reasonable then to consider the form ata'x as an Algonkian numeral so ancient as to antedate the dispersion of the Algonkian languages?

Wampum as a Symbol.—In Delaware ceremonial, social and even 436
economic procedure, wampum played an outstanding part. It is referred to in the text as "our heart." The subject, however, calls for more extended treatment than will be given it here. Wampum is designated by the term ke·kʷ, a vocable which is peculiar to Delaware and which does not submit to philological analysis. Despite the uniformity of beliefs and practices involving the use of wampum beads throughout the eastern and central portions of the Algonkian area of distribution, the Delawares seem to have aberrated from employing the generic term wəbe'bi[3] that we find in the speech of the other Wabanaki populations. The economic and symbolic functions of the peculiarly portentious medium of exchange I have dealt with in separate publication, to which I shall refer, as far as it deals with the Algonkian peoples of the northeast.[4] And the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the affects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property. I might even use the terms spiritual antiseptic in referring to the agency of the sacred beads in transactions of a personal nature as well as in negotiations between political bodies. Going a step further we see how the Indians regarded the belts and strings of wampum which were transferred between parties entering into negotiations as the necessary pledges of sincerity of spirit and purity of purpose.[5]

In the account of the annual ceremony a glance at the procedures 436
shows how step by step wampum is brought into use as a medium of 796
compensation carrying a spiritual valuation. But its monetary exchange value in Delaware culture is extremely low, hence the statements of the Indians themselves concerning its non-intrinsic rating are more clearly understood. The attendants we observe, whose office is to prepare the Big House, attend to materials such as food, fire,

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[1] Manuscript in Archives of the American Philosophical Society of Phila., Indian Vocabularies p. 17.

[2] The wide diffusion of the cognates of tel·ən is shown in the following instances, Wabanaki, meda'la, Montagnais-Naskapi, kata'l·nu.

[3] Literally "white string," the source of English "wampum."

[4] F. G. Speck, "The Functions of Wampum among the Northeastern Algonkian." Mem. Amer. Anth. Ass., vol. vi, No. 1, (1919).

[5] F. G. Speck, "The Penn Wampum Belts" Leaflet No. 3, Mus. Amer. Ind., (Heye Foundation), New York (1925).

436 796 sweeping, and general order of the premises receive their pay in wampum beads; the pecuniary value of which amounts to hardly more than a few cents. The drummers, the singers, the dance leaders, the reciters of visions are in their turn rewarded with small donations of wampum at the conclusion of their performances. This is a purifying gift rather than a pecuniary payment, one entirely out of proportion to the worth of service rendered.

[431] The worshipers of the Big House also offer their donations toward the ceremony in strings of wampum, giving them to the Master-of-Ceremonies, saying; ce·la'yu'ni· ndeli·' wi·teiŋge'n note''ha'n "This here is how much I help from my heart!" The sacrosanctity of wampum is furthermore emphasized by the religious rule that wampum should always be given when something has been received, even when only a gift from a friend. In the esteem of the natives it becomes a most potent medicine. Failure to carry out the rules governing the bestowing of wampum would bring sickness upon the receiver of property through exchange or the receiver of a gift. This is especially [757] true in connection with the Delaware practice of medicine, because medicine although destined to heal can double upon itself and become a poison when not sanctified by the conveyance of wampum.[1]

436 425 751 In Delaware phraseology "wampum is our heart." In exchanges of vendable property, even extending to gifts between friends, there lurked a potency for evil that might develop in who knows what quarter, producing malice or resentment among the parties concerned. It could even result in bodily poison to one or both. It is strictly correct to state that in the attitude of the eastern Indians toward such affairs the transfer of shell money from the hands of the receiver of a gift or a purchase to those of the giver performed the function of medicine.

436 755 The wampum protected them against spiritual infection and its manifestation in the body in the form of sickness. Wampum was a purifier, purging the transaction from latent evil force. And should evil have leaked through the transaction the wampum would function as a purgative for its keeper. The same wampum was a spiritual emblem believed by them to have come originally from supernatural sources and embodying within it profound supernatural dynamics.

436 439 We can understand why a compact sealed with the transfer of wampum was as sacred as one sworn to under oath by Europeans. It was such an attitude toward exchange and currency that our colonial forebears encountered when they bartered for land and peltry with the aborigines of New England and the Middle Atlantic States. The colonists handed out their exchange with the European notion of in-

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[1] I am of course speaking of Delaware therapeutics exclusively, although something along the same line may be said, by those who are inclined toward a critical attitude, of civilized medical practices.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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trinsic value, receiving the return with the native idea of spiritual and supernatural interplay. 436 439

The Dutch in buying Manhattan for 60 guilders worth of trinkets undoubtedly drove a shrewd bargain with the Delawares. But who has told us that in the eyes of these same Delawares the currency was the symbol not the value equivalent of the relinquishment of their hereditary rights to the land as well as its products? This ridiculous price was to them a symbol over which they transferred their good-will and spiritual power over forces dormant in the land, clearing away the poison that might have been engendered by the inequality of value in the transfer. Here lay the basis of conflict unreconcilable between the two culture spheres that met, bartered, and quarreled, in the settlement of the Atlantic seaboard. The one backed by unnumbered, metal-armed, aggressive and adventurous men from a tumultous old world as against a few thousand stone-age, passive, hunter-farmers.

There are deep associative meanings here underlying Algonkian and Iroquois wampum institutions. The problems of their origin, development and inter-relation are to be considered as a research problem of the future.

CEREMONIAL EQUIPMENT.—The material equipment of the Big House ceremony is mentioned with some detail in that part of the text which deals with preparation. The objects whose use is called for in various stages of the rite have a particular sacredness in the eyes of the Delawares. Between the occasions when the ceremony is performed they are carefully kept in the charge of some responsible chiefs or members of the council. Some of the objects required in the performance have been attached to it for lengthy periods of time. It has even been thought that they might have been brought from the east during the course of migration. This attitude of reverence, however, has not prevented the escape of specimens, representing practically all of the objects whose use is prescribed in the performance, from the hands of their custodians to find their way into the collections of eastern museums, even into the possession of private collectors.[1] In some cases faithful reproductions of the cherished articles have been made by the Indians to serve the purposes of demonstration. Therefore, utilizing the materials in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City, and the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, who have generally pro- 778 796

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[1] The temptation to professional curio-hunters to sweep Indian reservations clean of native manufactures results in turning topsy-turvy their cultural life. It even comes from experts whose desire for the possession of rare specimens is sometimes greater than their desire for the advancement of knowledge. The existence of such bitter and senseless rivalries among collectors is responsible for the demolition of creeds and ceremonies now too far gone to study or to understand.

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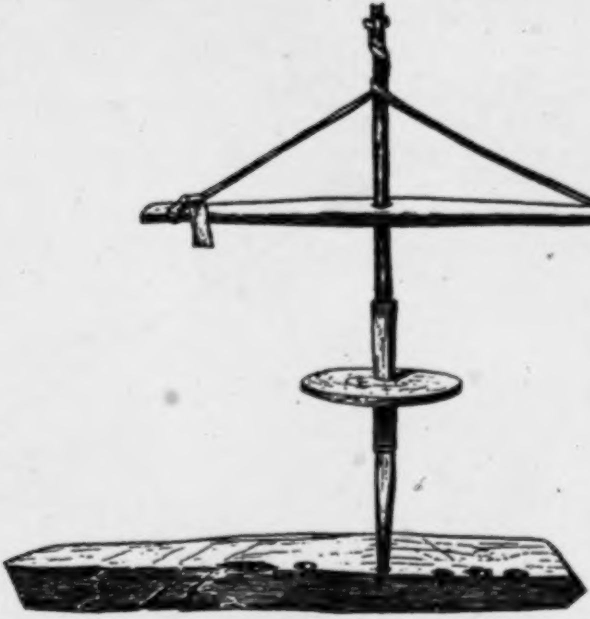

Fig. 14—Ceremonial fire drill used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length of shaft, 29.5 in.). After Harrington.

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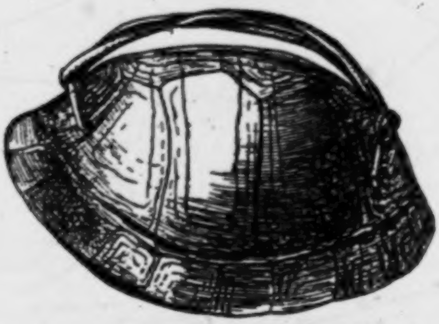

Fig. 15—Rattle of land-tortoise shell, used by celebrants of the Big House Ceremony. (Lenth 4.2 in.). After Harrington.

vided illustration and granted access to the specimens for description, 778
the accompanying plates and figures are made possible for our study. 796
Other reproductions are from specimens being acquired in the Delaware collections in the State Museum at Harrisburg.[1]

The articles constituting the material equipment of the ceremony require some comment since reference is so frequently made to them in the text, although their proper description would fall under treatment in a study of Delaware material culture. Wi·tapano'xwe has, moreover, given us some additions to knowledge regarding these objects which I shall refer to briefly now, while reserving some explanatory remarks pertaining to them for the footnotes accompanying the translation.

The shell rattles (taxko'xkᵉ) (figs. 2, 15) with which the men who 534
recite their visions accompany themselves by sidewise motion of the 778
arm are constructed of the dried shell of the box tortoise (Cistudo). 796
A leather thong is fastened through holes in the top shell, beneath which the fingers pass so that the curve of the shell fits the palm of the hand. Both the dance leader who is reciting his vision and the man close by his side, who chants the responses to the song of the leader, carry the handrattles. The leader's rattle is, by traditional ruling, smaller than that of his associate.

The peculiar Delaware hide-drum (poχon·i·'k·an), (fig. 19), which was also known to the Munsee, has called forth some attention from Harrington. This instrument of percussion is simply a dried deer-skin folded and bound with cordage that fastens two long wooden slats to opposite sides, its length is thirty-two inches. The beaters are more interesting as ceremonial objects. During the nights of the annual performance up till the ninth, the drum batons (paχkandi·'k·an) are plain bars of oak 16 inches in length with no other mark on them than a figure X carved on the upper side. The figure is said to symbolize the crossroads on the pathway of the soul (see page 174 and figs. 17, 22, 26). On the ninth night, however, the plain drum-beaters are put aside and their place is taken in the subsequent acts of the ceremony by the sacred beaters (paχkandi·'k·an laχa'usi·tci·k "forked-ones").[1] This substitution is an allegory of the increasing sanctity of the rites as they progress from the beginning, until reaching the ninth night the worship has approached so near the seat of the Great Spirit in his twelfth tier of heaven that the ceremony assumes a more formal phase, and appears with its equipment in ceremonial full-dress. The sacred batons (fig. 22, a, b) bear on their upper sides carvings of the human face in high relief with the symbolical red and black paint on the right

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[1] Mention should be given to the illustrations of most of these objects in Harrington's study of Lenape religion and ceremonies.

[1] These sacramental objects are kept in the custody of the chiefs of the Tu'kwsi·t (Wolf) group.

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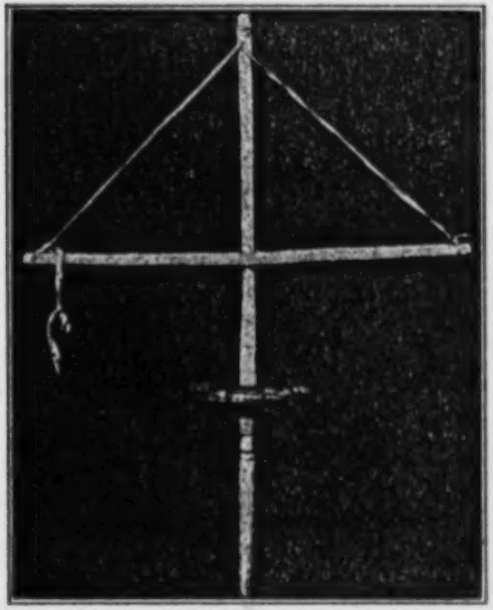

Fig. 16—Delaware Fire-drill (Hist. Comm. of Pa.)

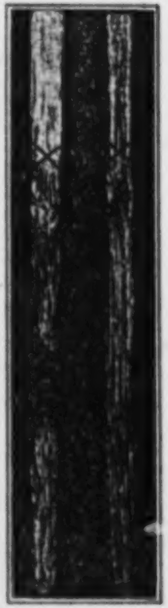

Fig. 17—Delaware Drum-beaters marked with cross used before ninth night of Ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

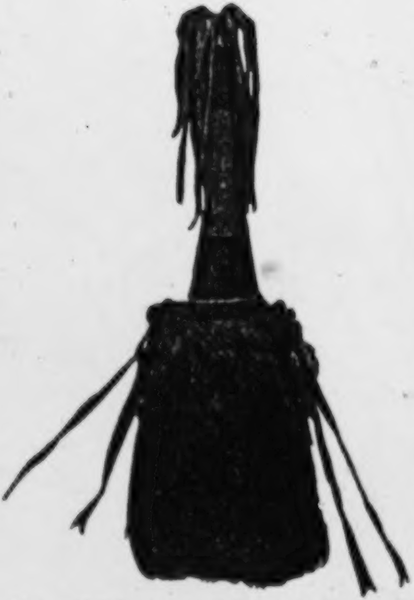

Fig. 18—Delaware hawk-tail hand fan carried by man. Used now generally in Peyote Ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

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and left halves, respectively. The one also has carved representations 534
of the female breasts. Harrington secured information explaining that 778
these drum-beaters symbolized the male and female worshipers, but we 796
cannot be so certain of this in view of the possibility that they may be representations of male and female deities, the "grandfathers" and "grandmothers" of the Delawares. The sacred drumsticks are also cut to have forked ends as the illustrations show. For this morphological feature Wi·tapano'xwe knew of no positive explanation unless it represents the forks in the pathway of the soul. Harrington suggested that it was to make a louder sound. Specimens made by the informant are shown in fig. 20. Pin oak was the wood used. The faces are designed to bring out male and female lineaments.

Reverting for a moment to a consideration of the drum it is worth noting that the Delawares use neither the hollow log-drum nor the water-drum in the Big House ceremony although both are known in connection with other dance performances in the tribe.

The prayer sticks (ma^{a}mendahi·'k·ana^{a}, plural) "means of earnest 778
supplication" (fig. 24) are peeled wands about 18 inches long, twelve 796
in number, six decorated with spirals encircling them burnt on their surface, six undecorated. On the ninth night likewise these wands are introduced into the prayer feature of the ceremony. The worshipers, who up until this night have simply raised their hands when giving voice to the prayer call when grouped around the center post, now raise their hands pointing toward the images of the great spirit on this post with the prayer wands. Here again we learn that the extra reach afforded by the sticks is symbolical of the greater height in the heaven-strata that has been reached in the progress of the worship.

The fire drill saŋg^{w}hi·'k·an),[1] figs. 14, 16, the wooden corn mortar (kɔhɔ'k·an) and pestle, or "long pounder" (kwən·u'sən·e^{a}k^{w}), fig. 23, the paint, ola^{a}'man)[2] the "paint dishes" (ola'manəlɔ'k·e^{a}s), fig. 21, the feathers, (fig. 18), and other articles whose use is called for as the ceremony advances, are to be mentioned with explanatory observations in the footnotes accompanying the translation. These objects have a positive sanctified value as they function in the ceremony. The Delawares hold them in high esteem as symbols of the natural culture with which they were endowed by the Great Spirit before the coming of Europeans with their sacrilegious mechanisms, which latter are as far as possible held as taboo within the Big House itself and even on the premises. The same exclusive principle is carried out in respect to European foods. Even mussel shells are used as spoons.

A partly sanctified character is also ascribed to certain games which 796
are permitted during the course of the ceremony. While the mem- 52

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[1] sa'ŋgɔwe, "something that makes a ringing noise," denoting the sound of the fire-drill when in use.

[2] A generic term for "red paint" known everywhere among northern and eastern Algonkians with little variation.

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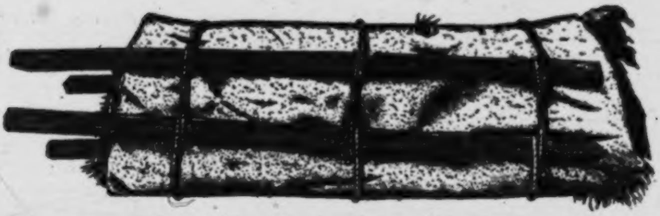

Fig. 19—Drum made of dried deerskin used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length, 38.2). After Harrington.

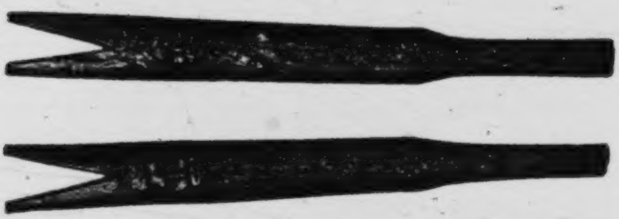

Fig. 20—Delaware drum beaters used on ninth night of ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

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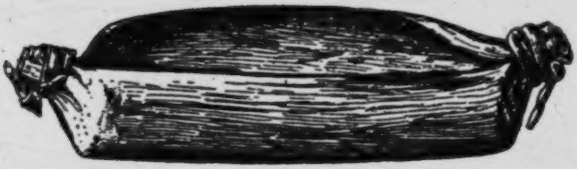

Fig. 21—Paint-dish of bark, used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length, 2.2 in.). After Harrington.

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bers of the group are convened for the Big House ceremony the day 776
intervals between the nightly performances are passed in taking rest 52
and in pastimes of a native character. The Delawares have various games (li·nalə′t·i·n) of a non-formal nature. Among these are horse racing (h^{e}wta^{e}me′laxtaŋ, "trying out horses), and the dice and bowl game (ma^{e}ma′ndi·n, "gathering [dice]") consisting of five dice, cut out of mussle shell carved into forms of button, horsehead, tortoise, tossed in a wooden bowl, the counters being kernels of corn or coffee beans. Other amusements, some obviously of European origin, are [177] checkers, pitching quoits, cards, broad-jumping and jack-straws, it might be added that the Delawares are addicted to the well known moccasin-game but reserve it for the funeral ceremony.[1]

CEREMONIAL IMAGE AND FACE-PAINTING.—The application of pig- 776
ment to the face has, in Delaware thought, the value of an anoint- 302
ment. The sanctity of the act of face-painting in connection with the performance is displayed in the formality of the rite on the ninth night in which the carved images in the Big House, the face images on the forked drum-sticks, and the faces of the worshipers themselves are given an application of red color. The images, however, receive an application of black and red on each half of the face, while the people receive a rubbing of red only on the cheeks and forehead. The proper native source of red for face painting, which the Delawares believe to have been created for their use by the Great Spirit, is Blood-root (Sanguinaria canadensis). Of this we hear occasionally in the text. In the accounts dealing with Indian customs in the east, Blood-root under the name pukoon is mentioned as an article of much importance. The term *pukoon* became adopted into English and the root became a color substance sought for in the commerce of the colonies. The Delawares still preserve a feeling of its importance and, although considered rare in the present habitat of the tribe in Okla- [386]
homa, it is locally present in quantities sufficient to supply an orange-red stain for them in their ceremonies. They call it pe·′kən.[2]

Black painting is also important in significance. Black (sək·a′χtai, [822]
"black charcoal") is a means of summoning ghosts and so it is worn only when such associations are desired.[3]

In an account of early Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Gabriel Thomas (1698)[4] tells us that the Delawares upon decease made their [764
822]
faces black all over, and when their affairs went well they painted

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[1] To be dealt with in a later memoir of this series.

[2] The identity of the above term with Sanguinaria was ascertained during a trip with the informant in the Pennsylvania woods where the plant was found and named.

[3] The informant remembers when a child being told by his mother to go wash the black paint from his face before night came on, after he had been playing dancing, lest it attract a ghost.

[4] Gabriel Thomas' Account, etc., in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, N. Y. (1912), edited by Albert Cook Myers, p. 341.

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[764

822] their faces with red, "it being the token of their joy as the other is of their grief."

The dichromatic pattern, black and red, seems to stand out with prominence in the painting of the human face and its carved representations in the whole eastern portion of North America from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico. An explanation, often sought for by direct inquiry among the Indians, and again based upon hypothesis, has never seemed forthcoming. In the preceding remarks on the use of black among the Delawares, and again through implied reasoning, I would venture to suggest, lies a plausible explanation of the pattern of red [822] and black. The red symbolizes living beings, the black dead, both idea and symbol having a deep grounding in the religious philosophy of the eastern part of the continent.

To illustrate some of the color patterns affected by the Delawares during the Big House ceremony, the narrator of the text made the accompanying color sketches (figure). The patterning permissible in the ceremony is normally restricted to black and red put on in larger masses rather than in fine lines. The mass designs are thought to be sombre, dignified; in short, full-dress in character, and, a note of no little significance, more ancient.

The smaller, fine-line designs placed on the cheeks or in the narrow area between the outer corner of the eye and the temple are regarded as being more modern, secular in character. These are considered too profane for the purpose of worship, and to wear them during the Big House ceremony would be out of keeping with the gravity of the occasion. The fine-line designs are regarded as being suitable for dress-up events of a social nature and for social dances. They [292] belong also to the garb of warriors, like the wearing of the roach head-ornament and the feather bonnet. A series of examples of the fine line of warriors' face patterns for cheeks and temples are shown in figures , as observed and remembered by the informant. An analogy exists between the patterns adopted by warriors and the markings on the face of the rattlesnake and even the turtles. In both cases the patterns are thought ominous, which seems to account for their exclusion from the ceremonial category of designs. Painting on the face representing markings on turtles' or rattlesnakes' faces are called aca'co which means "slitting or cutting in the skin," in Delaware.[1]

796
783 THE SWEATING RITE.—At an earlier period of Delaware history, it is said in the text, before the evacuation of the tribal haunts in Kansas (1867) the performance of a sweating ceremony seems to have been included in the annual ceremony. Harrington has notes on this procedure for which he received the name muxhatoL'xing from his

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[1] In Montagnais-Naskapi, aca'jo denotes tatooing.

796 informants. He choses to regard this rite as another form of the
783 annual ceremony, and supposes this to have been a tribal variation arising through the incorporation of alien features at the instigation of Munsee or Nanticoke adopted by the Delawares.[1] Zeisberger has an account referring to a sweating ceremony of a similar nature to that described by Harrington. The designation applied to it by Zeisberger is "machtuzin",[2] which he rendered "to perspire."

Wi·tapano'xwe secured the following description of the sweating-ceremony from aged living Indians in the Nation on the occasion of his visit home in 1929, and I give it as a supplement to what has already been published by others concerning it;

"The sweat-house performance does not belong to the regular annual ceremony of the Big House although it was formerly held in the Big House. It was a distinct ceremony lasting eight days held by the tribe when it was living in Kansas, before they moved to their present location in Oklahoma in 1867. When this ceremony was first
[147] held it was meant to determine who could withstand the greatest punishment by heat and steam. A large wigwam made of twelve poles bent together at the top and covered with hides. Opposite the door a number of pieces of wood and bark are arranged so that the wigwam will not catch fire. During the eight days of the ceremony hot rocks are placed in the wigwam and twelve men, each having had a vision so receiving supernatural power, are selected from the tribe to enter the wigwam where they sing their songs. Many of the men
756 in the trial become weak and succumb to the heat while others withstand the punishment until the last man has finished his song. These men are always considered as being medicine men or healers. The ceremony is held just before sun set.

"The Lenape or Delawares are looked upon as the doctors and an older tribe, in fact as the "grandfathers" of all other tribes. The Indian doctors are known as *ma-ta-en-no* (mət·e'i·nu) meaning a man who possesses supernatural healing power. Some times these men are warriors as well as healers."

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[1] Harrington I, pp. 122-6.

[2] Zeisberger, p. 138-9. This verb denoting dancing of ceremonial character appears as machtoga, probably the Munsee form (Brinton, p. 69) meaning "to perspire" being a symbolical dance held in honor of the "grandfather," fire. The number twelve appeared as an allegory in the dance. maxta'ken (machtogen, Brinton, Lenape Dict., p. 69) "to fight" is probably the Munsee related form, while Mohegan-Pequot, mata'ga "dance" evidently rounds out the evidence that it denoted among the early eastern Algonkian a superior dance performance associated with fire, struggle, and purification by sweating, and war preparation.

The term machtuzin given by Zeisberger seems to be a shortened equivalent, maχtuʷ'singʷ, of the expression muχk'χəltuʷ'singʷ, "staying until one is sweated red." Both terms are intelligible to the speakers of the Delaware language today. Lindeström (1654-6) describes the sweat-bath in familiar terms (A. Johnson, Geographia Americae, 1925, p. 257).

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"This, behold, is my dream;
and I can thus explain it and sing it in every way just as I saw it.'"[1] 539x
And now, it was said, first of all there must be a house built. And 773
also to be planned how that house should look both as to its inside 346
dimensions and height. And also, it was said what would be the size of the door here to be at the direction of the setting sun[2] and at the direction of the sunrise. And there will be jointed sections of the logs, and three posts used at the sides. And two will be on each side of the door reaching to the height of the top of the roof. And in the middle shall be the big post. And it shall be as high as the height of the house. And all posts shall be notched on top. And these at the side where the logs join shall stand as stud-posts facing each other, there held together at the top using short cross-ties.[3] And there shall be on top a larger timber cross-piece. And the ridge rafters in two pieces in the center where they join shall be more than a person's height, there from the beginning of the roof-pitch. And shall be made of various woods. And also the rafters and flat boards shall be used with the bark on, likewise in the roofing.

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[1] The Big House, as we learn here, was conceived in a dream-vision revealed to certain persons by the Great Spirit. The recitation of experiences, obtained while in a dream state or in a disturbed emotional condition, has ever continued to form the key note of the ceremony so founded. [787]

[2] The present Big House on Little Caney River, Oklahoma, is set north and south, evidently so placed by mistake, due to the position of the river.

[3] The notched binders fitted into notches of the posts to lock them.

And at both sides where sets the center post, there also shall be built [354]
the fires. Right there opposite and above them, an uncovered place shall be left in the roof. And that will be to force out the smoke. And on all the posts at about a person's height there shall be carved the [778]
mask-image face,[1] and also half the face painted red and the other side blackened.

And around the sides where the people sit, there shall be put dried 539x
grass. And three men and three women chosen, one shall be of the 773
Pɔle·' group, and of the Pukowa'ŋgo, and of the Tu'kʷsi·t. Their 796
service shall be to labor as long as the Gamwing, it was said, ten and two days[2] praying. All this time they furnish sufficient well-dried wood. It shall be, for those women, obligatory that they grind up corn and cook meat. And the Attendants all together feed in the house. And they pay them one shoulder-length[3] of wampum every time they furnish food. And it is the rule that the people shall use wampum when purchasing food from the Attendants. There everyone who recites visions in the House will eat there with his family three times each day.

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[1] These are the sculptured personifications of the spirit-forces.

[2] For the discussion of this archaic style of enumeration in the ceremony see page 62.

[3] Measured from the shoulder point to the tip of finger of the extended arm.

No iron or nail is used when building the House, and no wooden 539x
floor. It has a dirt floor inside the House. Deerhide is used when the 773
drum is tied together and two drum-sticks are cut forked. And small 346
faces are carved on one side, alike in appearance. Another different
pair of sticks are made plain and these are used when the cranes[1] are
singing. And a wooden bowl is made ready when they mix up the [415]
tobacco and kinnickinnick[2]. Another different wooden bowl is provided when they carry the red paint and puccoon[3] and also there they put cedar.

And ten and two sticks are made, called "means of earnest prayer." 539x
And some are marked with spots. Whoever wishes to sing in company 773
shall also use this when helping to lift up the prayer, it is said, with 796
concentration of spiritual force far above to the ten and two sky-levels
where dwells the Creator.

And now this Big House when first built, they say of it, was the one [778]
great prayer-creed, that this carved post in the middle of the House, standing there reaches to the above through as many as ten and two strata. And the strata of sky light are as high as that post, it is said, this being the fastener. That is the Creator's staff. From that very staff, branch off all prayer-creeds of the red-people given to them, whence come all other prayer-creeds of the world.

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[1] Meaning the drummers. There being two drummers, one of them sings in [533]
a tone which the other repeats immediately after him, in imitation of the manner in which wild cranes cry when flying in response to the call of their leader. The result in tone is similar to an echo. The crane is the Sand-hill crane (Grus Mexicana), daleka'ɔk, (plural) whence the drummers derive their sobriquet. ni·'kanaso· "the leader" is the singer who takes the leading part in the song; the other singer is oxteŋgi·'xso·s "after-time." See page 57.

[2] See footnote 6, page 127.

[3] See page 71.

[4] maˢ'mendahi·'k·an. This denotes prayer-sticks used in serious address to the Great Spirit. maˢ'mendawa'mal "I beg the Great Spirit to do my bidding." Specimens of the plain and decorated prayer-sticks made by the informant are shown (fig. 24).

The bearers of the twelve prayer-sticks give all their spiritual-force to lift the prayer being given by the speaker or the singers to the highest, or twelfth heaven,—the instrumental symbol of raising the word.

And there was given to the Delawares something which is used when they make fire. It is called "ringing noise-instrument"[1]. Whomever they chose as fire-maker, any of the Attendants, was of moral habits
or spiritually clean, for that one shall drill for fire in the House. Some- [372]
times flint is used when they make fire in the House and pith is used when they make fire with flint.

Now therefore in the beginning the Delawares came to be blessed with religion together with the Munsee; so the prayer worship proceeds for ten and two days. Now that very log-house itself is called Big House. Right here toward the dawn-direction and sun-set direc-

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[1] See page 69.

tion it lies extended. And the doors are opposite each other. Right 539x
here in the direction of the sun-set, it is the rule that the Bringer-in 773
come, bringing the ceremony into the House. 796

Everything was provided for the Delawares in the Gamwing. There 539x
was also wampum supplied by rule, it is said. Each person gives one 773
shoulder-length for helping to prepare this food and also for when 796
they pay the Attendants. And, so it is said, the Attendant is pleasing 436
to him our father the Great Spirit, even the Creator.

When the workers[1] purify everything,[2] these women with the Attend- [783]
ants, it can not be conceived how sacredly valuable those labors are. It has been destined for the Delaware that that very wampum he uses becomes his heart. And moreover when purchasing food, or when anything of value is bought, he employs wampum. And then a quantity is gathered. Here at the left side of the House where the Bringer-in sits, at a certain height above the ground, there a white cloth is hung along the wall. There is suspended all the wampum, as much as has been gathered together each day over again.[3]

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[1] The word means "to labor" in the sense of doing something for oneself. Corresponding to the term alo'ᶜke (Penobscot, Wabanaki) meaning "work," the Delaware denotes working for someone else by naloka•'tke "I am hired by someone to work.

[2] The clean, pure character of the Attendants or "workers" diffuses spiritual purity over all those attending the ceremony inside the Big House and strengthens them for the ensuing year.

[3] The supply of wampum is renewed each day by those who through spiritual [431]
impulses contribute their treasure. They are blessed in proportion. It should be noted that no one is allowed to sell anything at the festival except the Attendants. Outside on the grounds at a distance from the Big House refreshments can be sold for money. But inside the Big House wampum must be used for exchange. In the present ceremonial transactions between the Attendants and the worshippers two or three beads pass for five cents. Some thirty or more years ago, however, when wampum was more plentiful it passed at one bead for a cent.

And it was said, long ago in the beginning at the Gamwing, inside 539x
the Big House, they built a great sweat-house. They heated rock and 773
put it inside that sweat-house. There the shamans[1] crawled in. And 796
water was used here for pouring upon the rocks. That was called 554
testing with heat. Everyone going in there and staying for any length 785
of time was said to be a great man. Some person would be exhausted in a little while for which reason they took him out. Those enduring it for a considerable length of time, those are the great men.[2]

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[1] There were two classes of shamans. Some had healing power and are called nenpi·ᵇkees "sweating doctor." The men who recite their visions in the Big House are also ·mete·'l·nu in the Delaware classification, their description being kaci·'lae·u wehendji·k·anᵉyo "great men who perform in a single file [like the vertebral articulation of men and animals]." See page 54.

[2] Amounting to a title denoting "prophet, reciter of vision, healer, priest all in one.

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A turkey's[1] wing is used when they sweep out in the Big House. 539x
And besides, the Attendant carries a long stick as a poker and that [412
is used when they stir up the fire, and it is the rule that they shall 237]
light a good bright fire every night as long as they perform the cere- 796
mony. And the Attendant-leader every evening walks around all over
where they are camped about this Big House, holding a whip. And [625]
any person that they find that is causing unnecessary noise they correct.
And the children are instructed. And he notifies them, telling them
thrice "Come in! Come in! Come in!" And just recently they se-
lected an officer from the Delaware Agency who is on guard all the
time here while they are assembled, so that no one brings in liquor.[2]

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[1] The specific term for the Wild Turkey (Meleagris gallipavo) is tci·'kanam, a term derived from the habit of this bird of scratching or "cleaning" the floor of the forest. In native Delaware ornithology, the order Gallinae is denoted by the generic term pole·' which denotes any of the birds of the group, [825] though writers on Delaware social organization have occasionally rendered the term by "turkey." Happily no natural history obsequies are called for in the case of this splendid bird for it still survives in its original range where the Delawares knew it.

[2] The imformant pointed to this as an indication of the lack of reverence, and indecency of behavior in the tribe under the influence of the white man's ways. Zeisberger (op. cit. p. 130) commented on the same thing as regards disorder at the feasts.

When any one of us considers the rule with all the obligations and
instructions as these are properly carried out, it should be forbidden [841]
for one thing that those of our women who when they cannot cook[1]
are not pure, be allowed to trouble about the cooking. And should not
come in the Big House as long as they are affected with the sickness,
because some pure children might be much contaminated, especially [784
when they perform the Gamwing. And it is the rule that persons
should abstain from bringing into the Big House any animals of what- 231]
ever kind they may be which are domesticated.[2]

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[1] Being in their catamenial periods.

[2] This has special reference to dogs, pigs, etc. Some discussion has previously been given concerning the status of the wild animals of the forest and those domesticated by man. The Attendants are expected to attack any such animals that come into the Big House and drive them away with their staffs.

And right here opposite from the door on the outside over there at 539x
a certain distance they make the fire. Two forked poles are set up- 796
right and a pole laid across, upon which they hang the big buckets 352
in which they cook. Near here standing upright is a many-forked tree [417]
where meat is hung. And a big shelf is there at one side of the fire-
place with two floors where they put the corn that is used. When [562]
hominy is made the female Attendants have for their duty every
morning and evening to grind and make corn flour and hominy. Some- [412]
times two or four mortars are used together with those long pounders.

Here on each side three tents[1] are provided. In the first[2] there 539x
camps the leading Attendant, from here outwards the rest of the At- 796 ●
tendants. When any one of these Attendants does not serve, he can
hire a substitute to provide fire-wood or to sweep in the Big House,
and occasionally to cook.[3]

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[1] hemsi·k·a·'wan·a', "cloth houses" (plural).

[2] Meaning nearest to the door of the Big House.

[3] For the service he pays in wampum.

The Delawares were given the Mask-Image[1] so it became the rule 539x
that whoever owns that mask should take it into the Big House each 796
year, that mask, because it is he who has complete control over all the 778
wild animals. And it is said that our grandfather[2] is believed to walk
around early each morning. Now here he goes about frightening unruly [776]
children. When the "one who is our grandfather begs," the child
is taught that he shall pay a plug of tobacco so that he will not scare
them.

If the person who assumes to wear the mask is able to see clearly[3]
for a long distance it is said that he is a man of power. He
carries a turtle-rattle[4] and a staff of twisted wood.[5] When the mask [293]
makes his utterance it resembles a horse whinnying, and when he makes
signals using his turtle-rattle, then they give him tobacco. Customarily
he kicks at persons. Here in a pouch he carries that tobacco. Every
child customarily is taught that he gathers snakes and throws them
into that pouch in order that no one may steal our grandfather's to-
bacco. And it is also said that our grandfather keeps guard over all
so that no one may be overcome by disease. That also is the teaching
in reference to the spiritual doctrine of the Mask-Image.

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[1] The following passage refers to the mask image mesi'ŋgholi·'k·an about which something has been said in the introduction. The composite character of the annual ceremony is shown by the admission of this rite into the ceremony complex in honor of the one who "has control over all the wild game."

[2] The spirit represented by the mask also falls into the classification of consanguinity, and is so addressed.

[3] This evidence of personal power has already been dealt with (page 41).

[4] The rattle referred to is not the small hand rattle carried by the reciter of visions but a large instrument made of a snapping-turtle shell provided with a wooden handle (16.7 in. in length) suggestive of the rattle employed in Iroquois dance accompaniments. Harrington describes and illustrates one of these Delaware instruments (I, pp. 32, 36, fig. 2). (See fig. 7, p. 38). [534]

[5] The distribution of the walking staff as a ceremonial baton and its function in the ethnology of the eastern tribes has been generally overlooked by investigators yet we find evidence of its use over a wide area in the formalities of native behavior among both the Algonkian and Iroquois,—not to overlook the fact that the Delawares imagine the Great Spirit to possess one, the same being symbolized by the center post in the Big House. The Delaware designate the staff by ala·'hon (cp. Malecite, abato'wan). [293]

When the worship ceremony begins everyone is instructed to wear 539x
things conforming strictly to Delaware style, such for instance as the 796

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deer-tail or horse-hair when made into a roach.[1] And everything is 539x
beaded including moccasins. And if any one wishes it he goes there 796
to the Attendant where he may choose paint of whatever color he prefers.[2] And those desiring it wear eagle feathers.[3] All the old men customarily have the head-band when going into the Big Ho[illegible].[4]

And anyone may choose his style, but red paint and yel[illegible] by custom, are more frequently used. 539x
A person does not rub it [illegible] his face 796
all over. A person usually paints his cheek or at the sides of his eyes 302
lightly. But the relief-drummers[5] can, if desired, paint black or paint fancy. All these women if they desire may paint red when entering the Big House. And also when the ceremonial leader first enters the Big House that is the time when all those Face-images[6] are painted.

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[1] The "roach" is the dyed deer hair or horsehair crest worn by young and [292] middle aged men, worn on the top of the head. (pl. —). The hair stands upright, reaching from the crown to the nape of the neck, kept in place by an ornamentally carved bone spreader forming the base for a bone tube in which an eagle feather is fastened. This is a characteristic head ornament of the Delawares, ancient as well as modern, allusions to it being found in the early explorers accounts from the Carolinas to Maine. It seems to have accompanied the shaved painted head as an attachment to the scalp-lock of warriors. Throughout the central Algonkian area and the southern Siouan tribes it appears with great prominence in later writings, and has finally spread among the Prairie peoples possibly through diffusion through the agency of the Omaha. The Delaware term for the roach, təpasko'wlu, has reference to the shaved head and stiffened hair; that for the bone spreader, cuxuᵃ'las signifies "rattling pendant." These objects and their descriptive terms represent extremely ancient properties of eastern North America, having obvious connections with archaeological objects of bone which have puzzled investigators. The distribution of the roach head-ornament offers an interesting problem. Its occurrence is noted with practically no aberrant modifications among the [171] early populations from Maine southward to Florida, west through the Iroquois to the Central Algonkian, the southern and eastern Siouan tribes.

Among the earliest references to the Delawares wearing the roach we may cite Denton's (1670) mentioning men affecting as head-wear "a kind of a Ruff made with Deer's hair, and dyed a scarlet colour, which they esteem very rich." (See quotation of pertinent data in A. B. Skinner, "Indians of Greater New York, 1915, p. 36). Neither the article itself nor the sentiment attached to it has altered much among the Delawares since this was written two hundred and sixty years ago.

[2] There are limitations in the colors and patterns in face-paintings. The accompanying chart shows the designs and areas of the face appropriate for the decoration of individuals of various classifications (plate I).

[3] The Delaware seldom trim or cut the feathers they use when dressing for the Big House. They say the feathers are perfect as they grow on the [825] living bird and should not be altered. Only the feathers of birds considered noble, such as the eagles and certain of the larger hawks are sanctioned.

[4] Elderly men give up wearing the roach substituting the fur headband [882] with beaded rosette and small feathers at the side, (see fig. 25), or simply the handkerchief tied around the hair into which a feather is stuck. The elders wear their hair shoulder-length.

[5] The drummers who assist the chief drummers are permitted by rulings of the Big House tradition to wear black in painting, or to paint the face according as their fancy may prompt (see plate II).

[6] The images on the side and center posts of the Big House. The renewal of the paint, half black and half red on these images is a sacred act performed out of the reverence for the "Grandfathers" at the same time when the communicants of the ceremony apply the paint to their own faces.

Two shell-rattles they make of a wild creature.[1] One they call the 539x
leading rattle and the other, greater in size, is called, traditionally, 796
timber-terrapin. And those are used when they pray every night. 534
Here just at the right hand side of the door they place these shell-rattles. When the Master of Ceremonies arrives he says, "Now then, my brothers and my sisters, now as we begin we are approached and touched by those man·i't·u who are carrying this ceremony of worship."[2] That is how they employ them there. And both the dance-leader and his follower each hold in their hands these shell-rattles when they are dance-leading. The leading shell-rattle does not have a great sound, but that of the follower has a great sound, it is said traditionally, for he does answer when they are rattling.[3]

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[1] It has been mentioned how reverential it is to put to the service of man [824]
the body parts of wild creatures—the native wild fauna which are "pure" by contrast with the defiled animals of a domestic nature. The rattles used by the dance-leaders who sing the recitatives of their visions are shells of (Cistudo) the Box Turtle.

[2] This is a synonym for the usual term, pa·tamweɔ'k·an.

[3] For illustrations of these large and small rattles see figs. 2, 15.

Every year the old men hold a council. The day is named, it is 539x
talked over, and they decide who shall bring in the ceremony.[1] And 796
they name the person who shall carry the six yards of wampum. And 623
generally they name three men and three women Attendants going to see them.[2] They select the one who is willing to act as leading Attendant for the two Turkey group representatives, and the two Turtle clan representatives and the two Wolf group representatives are chosen.[3]

These leading Attendants, one and the same, belonging in the 539x
group of the Master-of-Ceremonies, he who opens the ceremony. Now 796
when the Attendants have accepted the call, forthwith a shoulder-length of wampum they are given as a symbol of being blessed.[4] And announcement is made of what day in the future they shall go into camp at the Big House. When they finish cleaning this House[5] they also plaster it with clay and all then about outside rake it clean. Then

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[1] This is the sacred duty of assuming full responsibility for the performance, the term temi·ke being a formal one.

[2] To inform them of appointment and secure their acceptance.

[3] In these terms denoting the triple social subdivisions of the Delawares (see discussion on p. 75), we encounter metaphorical conceptions of the animals designated. Thus pole·' denotes a bird of the order Gallinae, typified in Delaware by the turkey cognate throughout northern and eastern Algonkian (bineo, Ojibwa, peleo. Montagnais-Naskapi, "partridge") Puk·owa'ŋgo, denoting the tortoise group (Testudinata) literally means "sticky heels," in allusion to the dragging motion of the curious, ponderous creature in lifting his hind feet from the ground. Tu'kᵂwsi·t, literally "round foot" is figurative for the quadrupeds which seem according to my information to include any of the mammalia.

[4] The term used is a formal religious phrase naxpanguᵂma·n not translated by a single word, but which I have rendered "being given as a symbol of blessing."

[5] The informant was undecided whether or not to use the term menda'en for the Big House, which is considered to be an old Munsee term.

and there preparation is made for beginning the Gamwing. And be- 539x
sides, everyone who is to relate a vision and lead a dance, if he has 796 ●
prepared his rattle of turtle shell, shall see to it to bring it with him
for the ceremony.

There, in the ancient times the beginning of their worship the
Delawares went into camp every month. They worshipped in the Big [778]
House for a ten and two day period. But then in a few years a different rule made it every three months. And again it was changed. It was said, "We are hindered in our labor," because of our ceremony. Whereupon for the last time they changed it. It was said, "From now on every six months," the Gamwing will be." But indeed it was discovered that they had become by now too much like the white man in their life.[1] The young Delawares were ashamed, seeing what their elders did. And so by this time it is very difficult for the Delawares to assemble when ready to perform the ceremony.[2]

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[1] Among the Delawares, and the affiliated Nanticoke as well, the term
cawa'na, denoting "salt water" came to be used in a dignified sense referring [609]
to Europeans, since they first appeared from the sea. In the vernacular, less respectful in its sense, the white man was also known as ɔ'ping "white face" also denoting "opossum." This is more of a sobriquet in Delaware. The allusions to Europeans in other Eastern Algonkian languages did not follow the principle of Delaware usage, for the Mun[illegible]e, awe'nik the plural of "who?" (Brinton, The Lenape and their Traditions[illegible] the Mohegan-Pequot, wa'naks, derives also from awa'n, "who"; Wabanaki, awa'nutc^{e}, awe'nutc^{e} of similar derivation.

[2] It would appear that the weakening of devotion has been a characteristic modern tendency among the native pagan groups as well as among Christians.

Such was the ruling long ago how several different kinds of spiritual-forces were existent, how, it was said, all the wild animals and birds as well as the creeping wild creatures are the ones to be mentioned[1] in the Big House.

The pure[2] animals and birds only are used when they prepare meat. 539x
This is the reason why every one of them, even that Mask-Spirit, and [262]
all their kind including the Tortoise,[3] are called man·i't·u. It is be- 825
cause he it is who carries our mother's body.[4] And the bird is used there to be eaten. And these feathers of him are ceremonially used when they sweep clean[5] the beautiful-pure White Path, our father's, the Great Spirit's road.[6] Wherefore a person will appear fine when dress-

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[1] This means ceremonially; mention by symbolical references to pay them respect and to acknowledge their rule in the departments of nature.

[2] For further details concerning the "pure, clean" creatures see the outline discussion page 50.

[3] Note the use of the same term (ta'xkoxk^{e}) for both the creature itself and the tortoise-rattle. The latter is regarded as being the actual living creature in its ceremonial guise.

[4] The Delaware metaphor referring to the earth.

[5] The term used denotes, "they purify by sweeping clean," meaning to clear 825
away latent malific spiritual forces that might lie in the White Path. This 783
symbolically removes possible spiritual pollution from the course of the wor-

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other wild creature whatsoever, that is said to be pure spirit. And also 539x
those twelve face-images in the Big House, and those prayer-sticks,[1] 825
and the maize and fruit, all things indeed used in the Gamwing, it is [776]
said, are helpers when it comes to lifting up to the twelve levels of
heaven above us where he dwells, our father the Great Spirit.

And also there is a ruling of custom. The religious obligations 539x
sometimes require that the speaker, when talking, it is said, names over 776
all these spirit-forces wherever they reside around the earth, calling
upon them, as it is said: "Truly we are thankful that we have lived
long enough to see the time come when these our grandfathers the
trees bloom forth, and also the coming up of vegetation.

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[1] The twelve peeled rods held in the hands of the worshippers when they "raise their prayer to the twelfth level of heaven" to the Great Spirit by crying "ho" six times and "ha" six times, and pointing with the sticks to the image on the center post of the Big House. They are denoted by the term mamendahi·'kan'ak "the means of earnest prayer." In Harrington's study of Delaware religion no mention is made of the exact function of the prayer sticks (Harrington I, p. 103), though in the Munsee corresponding ceremony they are described (ibid. p. 131) as being used to drum with in time to the music, by those who wish to pray. There is another omission in reference to the prayer sticks (ibid. p. 103). Harrington speaks of a particular way in which the sticks "fall opposite each other" but no explanation is made. Discussion of these details will be found on page 69.

[2] Among the tree "grandfathers" thought of in particular is the maple from the sap of which native sugar is made.

Reference to the gift of the maple in yielding its sap for human use is a [824]
reminiscence of a widespread Algonkian usage. The Sugar Maple is sena'meci·
"rock-place tree" (the Red Maple is called səl·'kames "grove tree"). This
tree is the real Acer saccharum and is known to the Oklahoma Delaware only
by tradition since they remember it in the north. They make a sugar now [257]
from the Red Maple, not as strong in flavor as the other, but mixed with Box
Elder (awi·'sal·t o'nae "yellow twig") and Black walnut tu'kwi·meci· "round-nut tree") but the latter has such a strong taste that only a little may be used. Heckewelder (op. cit., p. 194) gives an account of Delaware sugar-making during the Ohio period.

Now as well for this water and for him our grandfather fire, and again this air, again this sunlight. When everyone has been blessed with such gifts it is enough to make one realize what kind of benevolence comes from our father, because he it is who has created everything."[1]

And now furthermore one more spiritual-force is said to be a part 539x
of creation up above. The first being mentioned is called day-moon,[2] 821
and the night traveler[3] is called night-moon. And of several kinds 776
of stars, the first one seen is that one from the sunrise direction, called

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[1] Zeisberger, before 1780 (op. cit. p. 129), had heard similar professions of gratitude; "They believe the Deity is graciously and mercifully disposed toward them, because he imparts power to the plants to grow, causes the rain to fall, and the sun to shine and gives game to man for his support."

[2] The designations "day-moon" and "night-moon" are widespread in northern Algonkian, (Munsee, Cree, Montagnais-Naskapi). Luminary would be a more exact equivalent of gi·'cux

[3] For the moon to be figuratively denoted as "night-traveler" is common in Eastern Algonkian (ni·bau'sit "night-walker," Penobscot, with cognates in the other Wabanaki languages; nanepaushat, Massachusetts (Trumbull, Natick Dict. p. 297).

These are the three ways in which a person is endowed that he becomes useful, or a magician.[1] And a person can become a warleader; that also is called greatness. 539x 787 554

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[1] The term mete'i·nu in Delaware signifying "shaman" introduces a term recognized throughout the Algonkian range with identical force.

II

FIRST NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

539x 796 The Master of Ceremony[1] says when he goes into[2] the Big House, when rising to his feet, he speaks saying, "Truly I am thankful, my kindred. It is exceedingly good that we have lived on through to see each other, that we are in good health. I am truly thankful to bring forth[3] the blessing, my brothers and sisters and those there, our children. I bless you all with every kind of blessing. Truly it is unbecoming to me because I feel incompetent when instructing you what to do. Pitiful am I, indeed, as it is said. It rests very heavily upon my mind when I see each year how at present this our way of living has become pitiful. But nevertheless we must all try, my brothers and sisters and also even those children. Let everyone use his mind earnestly when we lift up our prayer of appeal to that one, our father, the Great Spirit and Our Creator. Indeed it is with great sadness of mind that we look back and see the past of our cultural-life as it is said to have been. Formerly, but a few years ago, it is said, here the seating space in the Big House[4] was overcrowded with our now deceased relations. Indeed it brings sadness of mind when we see here now how few of our relatives are seated around that space. It is enough to make anyone ponder over the cause of it. I myself never did think that I would live long enough, as a survivor, living as I am right here, instructing in sacred things where other sacred-teachers, our deceased ancestors,[5] so thoroughly inspired in worship, taught.

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[1] A proper name in the ceremonial sense, elha'k·e·te

[2] By this figure the formal opening of the ceremony is denoted, tami·'ke, "to go in."

[3] The Master of Ceremony is regarded as the sponsor for all the blessings that result from the performance not only to the participants themselves, and to the tribe, but to the whole of mankind.

[4] He refers to the covering of straw laid around inside the walls of the Big House where the participants are sitting. No chairs or benches are permitted here. They are not of the ancient days. [stra]

[5] How little the Delawares have changed in their mental attitude since 1742 is shown by comparison of the above reverential discourse with a declaration made by the missionary David Brainerd who labored, and finally succumbed to the effort, to swerve the same tribe from loyalty toward the beliefs of their ancestors. His lament was that they were so much attached "to the traditions and fabulous notions of their fathers, which they firmly believe, and thence look upon their ancestors to have been the best of men." (Life and Journal of the Rev. David Brainerd, pp. 397-425 (Edinburgh 1820) quoted by Brinton op. cit., p. 137).

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So I pray that everyone help. If accordingly everyone does all in 539x
his power, earnestly praying with all his heart, it might occasion those 796
spirit-forces to hear our pitiful appeal, those who carry the power of [782]
blessing. And right here this evening in a little while we shall begin to feel ourselves being touched by our grandfathers[1] who move this our prayer-worship.

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[1] The various man-i't-u or spirit-forces of nature, some of which have been previously mentioned by the narrator. The spirits dwelling in the turtle-shells are one of the manifestations of the Great Spirit, who function in this [776] reference as the spirits whose duty it is to "start moving" the ceremony. The "touch" here means the "spirit of control" or the force that keeps the worship alive.

And now when worshiping, these Turkey-group people,[1] because they enter the Big House with the ceremony, that group is our old man[2] and our chief. He-Walks-Turning-Around-Slowly[3] is the one who brings in the ceremony.

When the Enterer begins the ceremony everything is prepared. Here at the middle of the right hand side, directly opposite where the stud-post stands, right here he conducts the worship—the Enterer. From this place is where they perform the vision recitations. These turtle-rattles are called our grandfathers. When they reach the place where the Master of Ceremonies sits,[4] he shakes the rattle, the leading rattle, and the follower answers him.[5]

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[1] It is assumed in the text by the narrator that the Turkey, or Fowl division of the tribe is assuming the obligation to "enter the Big House bringing" meaning to sponsor the ceremony.

[2] The simile here denotes that the Turkey division has senority over the other two so far as the period of the ceremony is concerned.

[3] The performance is to be recited as though it were being conducted by the present chief of the tribe, Charles Elkhair who has held the office since 1898, whose Delaware name is Ko·kwal-epo'χwe denoting someone who is walking along slowly then turns around in the opposite direction. The same chief was the host to the ceremony described by Harrington in 1912 (Harrington I, pp. 85-7). The informant planned the text to follow Elkhair's manner of conducting it because he had participated in it frequently under him and had a clearer recollection of his addresses and details of management.

[4] This statement brings to mind the important and oft-repeated reference to the Tortoise in his transit of the world as "carrying the ceremony." The rattles, made of the animals shells, we are told, are following the same allegorical course from east to west.

[5] The dance leader uses a somewhat smaller tortoise shell than the "following," hence the designation leading rattle, as though the rattle itself were an active agency.

Then these "cranes," or drummers,[1] beat three times the drum. First the dance leader strikes the drum once, and then the follower-singer, and the leader again. And then also he will say, he who is about to recite his vision and dance, "I now must worship!" And all the old men answer. They say, "Hau! Indeed it is truly fine, my brother!"

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[1] For some reason a simile has developed here by which the two men who attended to the drumming accompaniment are likened to Sandhill Cranes, [136]

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Recitation of Vision by Koᵃkwel·epo'χwe

"I must now come to the point of relating my narrative about Kaw 539x
River[1] when I was but a child. When my now deceased father told 796 ●
me, "Now, indeed, for your younger brother life is ended,"[2] my de- 787
funct parent was exceedingly grieved over the thing. How sorry I was about my younger brother, because I used to think that sometime later when he grew up it would happen that I could play with that one my younger brother. Truly indeed, my meditations grew very heavy upon my mind. I did not know what to do for solace. Whereupon I wandered away, towards the edge of the timber. In my wandering I did not know that it was coming on night, while more and more was my grief weighing upon my mind. Truly, in my realization of helplessness, seeking for solace, I suddenly made up my mind then and there that whatever might become of me let it come. There under a tree I slowly sank and fell.[3] In a short time I began to feel that my miseries of mind had begun to flow out. It seemed not as though I were asleep because I thought it would make no difference if I should die right there, for my younger brother was now no more. It was not long before I heard something come to the ground close at hand. I

(Grus mexicana) or the Whooping Crane (G. americana) those now almost extinct birds whose wings in colonial times darkened the skies of Pennsylvania. "Cranes came hither along the Delaware by hundreds in the Spring (1700), but at present (1748) there are very few. . . . . Certain old Swedes told me that, in their younger years, as the country was not yet much cultivated, an incredible number of cranes were here every Spring," wrote Peter Kalm (Travels in North America, 1770, Vol. I, p. 290), the Swedish naturalist who visited the Delaware valley in the middle of the 18th century (see C. C. Abbot, A Naturalist's Rambles About Home, (1894), p. 230; and E. H. Forbush, "A History of Game Birds, Wild Fowl, and Shore Birds (1912), p. 478). [136]

The birds are also mentioned for Pennsylvania by Gabriel Thomas (1634), (Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers (1912), p. 48). The cranes had disappeared from Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey by 1869 (W. P. Turnbull, Birds of Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey, (1869), p. 49). What the basis of resemblance was in the minds of the ancients, to have caused this resemblance to be featured between the drummers and cranes seems to be beyond our means of learning although the Delawares trace it to the peculiar cry the drummers utter when they terminate each dance round. We shall also hear more of them as the ceremony proceeds, for they play parts of considerable responsibility, being obliged for one thing, to repeat whatever is chanted by the dance-leader when he pauses in his song, during his vision recitation, to dance while the "cranes" echo his verses. They also have certain privileges in the use of face paint.

[1] ka'si·aˢ is the proper name in Delaware for the Kansa, or Kaw, tribe of the southern Siouan group, from which Kaw river derives its name. This is the scene of the reciter's vision, who is assumed to be, as previously noted, Chief Elkhair.

[2] A reverential way of referring to the death of a kinsman. If an animal were so referred to, the term a'ŋgel·aᵉ "he is dead" is used. Still another paraphrase for decease is a·mat·a'xpi·l'yɔ "he who no longer remains here." [76]

[3] This term has a religious sense, the ordinary verb being naceᵉ'ŋgi·xi·, "I lie down."

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did not know it, but I had begun to rise up half-way attempting to 539ˣ look toward it in the north. 786

Pitiful me, I saw nothing although I could well hear the person right 787 over the ridge. As I listened he said, "Do not think that no thing cares for you, my friend!" Then and there I walked about. Indeed truly the thing overcame me with surprise, that person, when I came to the point of looking toward him. When I saw his form it seemed as though there in the direction of north, it lay extended like the appearance of red. And he said, "My friend, observe me carefully! Look at me, how I do when I walk about in this place!" Every little while he would start running. When he started running he sounded like təm+, təm+!" [Here the cranes beat the drum three times with the drum sticks, and they respond when he speaks in succession, təm+, təm+]. "Not small but great he looked, did that person.

When I thought it over, when I looked at it way over there, at the edge of the southern land[1] did it come to ground. And it sounded so, every time that creature started running, it sounded every time like o o+ o o+ ![2] And he said when he landed there, "And that besides is what I do here, when I pass by bestowing my spiritual blessing." For he spoke and he sounded like, that person, speaking when he alighted;[3]

'Going by fanning the air, glory of him, the worship of man, all over the earth, glory of him. Cease,[1] ya hwi·![2]

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[1] Denoting the horizon where the earth island meets the surrounding water.

[2] At this point the "cranes" (drummers) strike the deer-hide drum rapidly. [823]

[3] This is a set form in the ritual recitation when the reciter of visions is about to quote the man·ï't·u· As he commences dancing he changes to motion of the rattle from a sideways to an up-and-down vigorous stroke, keeping it up while he is dancing and the drummers accompany him. The performer holds the rattle in his right hand before his body at waist-level, the head of the shell to the left, the tail to the right.

[1] Addressed to the drummers.

[2] Conceived by the visionary almost with the rapture of the Psalmist, the spiritual presence of the "red-appearing" man·ï't·u is chanted. The sonorous swish-swish of the pebbles inside the dry tortoise shell rattle adds a peculiar dramatic quality to the recitation.

As to the text of the chant, the words are warped from their ordinary form into a lyric measure in conformity with the usual pattern of such compositions. It might be rendered in the following roughly corresponding lines of free-verse for those who will accept an approximate transfer of meter from one language to another so far from it in grammatical form.

Wind of spirit [538]
Rushing by me,
Magic Power
Gives me vision,
Exaltation
Caused by him.
Supplication
Of the people,
Universal
Exaltation
Caused by him.
Cease!
Yahwi·!

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[Stop][1] That being there in the direction of the north, there I 539x
heard him. That Person every so often started running. Indeed more 796 ●
and more at the thing I became oppressed about what that Person 787
said. And he says when he started running [Stop].

[The reciter repeats the chant as before while he dances around the circuit to the next station, fig. 12, to the accompaniment of the drumming.]

Truly thankful, my kindred, I am very glad that we have lived so far in good health and that I can bestow all kinds of spiritual blessings, even including all those of our grandfathers. And before long we shall shake hands with these "cranes"[2] who are lifting up the Delaware worship. That Being was speaking, saying every time that he started running.

[Repeat the chant for the third time.][3]

More and more clearly could I see that Person. I took it to be far away toward the north where it originated and it seemed, as I saw it going by, to be reddish in appearance. And he continued speaking, that Person, saying[4]

[The drummers repeat the chant, while the Reciter dances a certain distance, then says kwi· "stop," and pauses (at G on diagram (fig. 12)].

Truly it is unbecoming for me so weak, my kindred, but I shall nevertheless do as well as I can and with all my heart, pitiful me! for that is what I thought when I heard that Person saying, "My friend look at me carefully." Because he said, "I also bring blessings when I come here!" So it sounded when he started running.

[Repeat the chant for the fifth time].

Now, my kindred, I am very glad that I have reached this pure, clean White Path, and our Father's Road. And now here opposite we have come where our Grandfathers are standing.[5] And, as it is said, also we have heard how our deceased ancestors so carefully performed the rite. It is said that they called forth how many times to dance around the place where our Grandfather stands.[6] Let us, too, state

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[1] This exclamation which I place within brackets wherever it occurs, is a command to the drummers to cease. Elkhair is now supposed to be standing at one of the stopping places in the dance circuit, or Great White Path, reciting his part. (fig. 12, a to g).

[2] The drummers.

[3] Here the Reciter stops almost in front of the drummers facing them and shakes hands with them. All those who are dancing behind him both men and women come up and also shake hands with the drummers, then resume their places behind the leader.

[4] The vague description of the Person (man·it'·u) seen by the visionary leaves its form and character to be imagined by the hearers. The informant for his part took it to mean to him a panther, which would, he thought, be a reasonable inference based upon the allusions by the Reciter. The latter does not like to betray in precise terms the identity of his guardian spirit. [776]

[5] Referring to the center post with the two large carved images, before which he has now taken his stand (see diagram fig. 12, h).

[6] Meaning also the center post.

how many times, namely four times. And then we shall never cease 539x
talking again about that Person. If only it would be that I have good 796
health in the future we would never stop talking about that Person, [787]
who spoke, as he said,[1]

[Repeat chant for the sixth time.][2]

Truly indeed my kindred we are enjoying very good fortune when we are given an abundance[3] of pure clean game animals as our spiritual food-offering,[4] as a result of which all shall become happy and contented in mind, when he our Father the Great Spirit has taken pity on us for our devotion.[5] But nevertheless we are pitiful, that is why here at this place we are heard sadly pleading in our Father's House.[6]

That Being continued speaking, saying:[7]

[Repeat the chant for the seventh time.][8]

Now my kindred, we have gone around him, our Grandfather's carved-face. Truly thankful, because even he has taken care of us until now and because we are in good health, including these our children. Now give reverence[9] to our Grandfather. Twice we shall lift up our appeal' ho+ ho+![10]

[Repeat the chant for the eighth time.][11]

And again, my brothers and sisters and also ye children, we have come dancing here to where stand those our Grandfathers, twelve in
number all together our Grandfathers,[12] because from here on all the [776]
spirit-forces are alike, our grandfather Fire, and that one our mother Water, and all those who support our life with food. It is enough, my

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[1] He raises his hand touching the carved face, and says ho+ ho+, and all who are with him either do the same with their hands or the prayer sticks that they carry.

[2] The inspired Reciter is now standing directly in front of the center post facing the carved image that faces toward the east.

[3] An ancient term, the modern is xahe·'li· "plenty."

[4] The term used here, ne·xpale·'tam has a meaning difficult to render, an offering made by the people all together to induce spiritual force.

[5] wi·mbəne·m'kɔ'nan, having the meaning, he has pity on us and shows his love and mercy for our act of worship.

[6] mwenda·'wen a long house used exclusively for the purpose of religious worship (cp. Penobscot kwunda'wun).

[7] This formality is never omitted nor altered in ending the paragraphs of the address. Some speakers terminate with tom+ tom+ denoting the sound heard when the man·i't·u struck the ground on the horizon. In the case of one reciter, his guardian spirit having assumed the form of a duck, he uttered kwäk kwä, and declared that the echo reached the edge of the horizon.

[8] The Reciter is now facing the other carved image on the center post.

[9] ɔŋgo'·mastam' the term discussed before.

[10] This is the prayer-cry for which the Delawares were known two centuries ago. The speaker now touches the eastern carved face on the center post with his left hand (the rattle is in his right hand), and those standing about him, who were following him around the dancing path in his dance, raise their right hands or the prayer sticks if they have them and give the prayer-cry as he does.

[11] The Reciter now leads his followers around the center post again in a circle, stopping before the eastern carved image as he did before. Kwi "stop," he says to the dancers and drummers, and resumes his sermon.

[12] He is indicating the twelve carved images in the Big House.

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kindred, to cause us happiness of mind when we are given all the things 539x that grow and all which our Father the Great Spirit has so well pro- 796 vided. That is why it is possible for us to see this fulfilled.

And it seemed to me that that Person right there at the edge of the south-land seemed to me to possess power over all things. And it sounded so when he started running. ho+ ho+![1]

[Repeat the chant for the ninth time.][2]

Truly indeed, my kindred, once more besides we dance around where he stands, he our Grandfather. And this will be the last time when we shall go around. And then also will everyone twelve times lift up the prayer-worship, up above where belong these adorations[3] of the [772] people[4] to the twelfth level of the sky where dwells our Father, the Great Spirit.

And thus speaking that Person said:

[Repeat the chant for the tenth time.][5]

Truly thankful, my kindred, now here we have come to where he our Grandfather stands.[6] Now the time has come for us to offer up our adoration, to lift up our prayer ten and two times to where dwells he who owns us,[7] the Great Spirit even our Creator.[8]

I am truly thankful that I bring the address of blessing, my brothers, my sisters, and these our children. I give thanks that I bring blessing, all and every kind of spiritual blessings. Truly I am very feeble myself, as it is said, it oppresses my heart when I see how now we are orphans.[9] Many times we have heard from our deceased an-

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[1] When giving the prayer-call now, he touches the carved image as before.

[2] He leads the dancers around the post again to the other image, fulfilling his command to encircle the post twice.

[3] The term kwe·namowa'k·an occurs here but I have given it another meaning to accord with the context.

[4] The text here might read as well, the Delawares, for, as we have learned, the tribe addresses itself as lən·a·'pe, "common people" as a proper name.

[5] He is now back again before the western-facing carved image.

[6] Meaning that the worshippers have figuratively mounted to the presence of the Great Spirit in his twelfth heaven.

[7] The conception of the Great Spirit as the owner of man, comes out similarly in Wabanaki (F. G. Speck," Wawenock Myths" 43rd Annual Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethnology, 1928, p. 180).

[8] At this point the leader touches the carved face on the center-post and all hold up their hands. Everybody in the Big House stands up (except those too old, deformed, or nursing children), saying ho+ six times, everybody holding up the right hand, and hă+ six times. Then the drummers follow; the leading drummer hits one, second drummer one, the leading drummer the final blow on the hide-drum. This is the signal for all to sit down.

The leader now faces west, with his back to the masi'gg·w on the center post and directly under it. He shakes hands with his "followers" first, then with all who were in the line. Then each one goes to his respective place to be seated, observing the rule of going to the north and south sides of the Big House. They must pass westward around the two fires, following the White Path over which they have danced.

When all have seated themselves in their proper places, the Attendants put extra wood on the fires to light up the Big House. The speaker again declaims to the honor of the Creator.

[9] Referring to their bereavement through the generations of deceased ancestors.

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cestors how, so it is said, they sadly pleaded, when, reciting their 539 x
vision experiences, telling how pitiful were the conditions then in 796
their time said to be. Verily I myself do grieve, my kindred, when I look back there into the past. But, nevertheless indeed, try your utmost, every one have a helpful will, and it might be that our pitiful plea for mercy be heard by him the Great Spirit. We may perchance sometime gain a victory to our benefit.

Truly my kindred, as it is forcibly said, I am oppressed with a feeling of incapability while standing here to instruct anyone in the blessing, here where stands he our Grandfather.[1] And I am truly thankful to bless with gratitude all those spirit-forces, all of them sitting round about us over the entire earth. And when we consider how our deceased ancestors so thoroughly paid attention to the obligations of this prayer-worship! Indeed how great are we privileged and blessed that still we can perform the ceremony as we were accustomed to see our deceased ancestors do it! This is sufficient for this occasion. Thanks!"[2]

Now the leader goes and sits down. When he has properly seated himself and swept it clean[3] then 'these who are painted red'[4] say "Let us all smoke[5] Let us all smoke." So the tobacco has been placed in a wooden bowl and should be mixed with sumac leaves (kinnickinnick[6]), because it is the rule that sumac shall be used [276] by the Delawares when smoking.[7] And besides the cedar[8] and paint are all kept there at one place close to the drum. And when anyone lights the pipe in the Big House, he will then use our Grandfather because that one also is called pure, clean fire.

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[1] Indicating his position standing as though sermonizing from a pulpit before the images of the center post.

[2] It should be borne in mind that the speaker is to repeat his performance every night while the Big House ceremony is in session.

[3] Meaning that he has dusted away latent evil potencies with the turkey-wing fan symbols. [783]

[4] Another ceremonial name for the assistant drummer.

[5] The verb here is said to be in the Munsee language aya'xpuᵊk', recalling the traditional Munsee origin of the ceremony. The corresponding Delaware term is hup.ɔ't.am "Let us smoke." The Delaware term kəl.əkan.i'k.an has cognates throughout Algonkian.

[6] The Delaware smoking mixture consists largely of dried sumac (probably Rhus copallina) leaves, which are gathered before the frost strikes [276] them in the fall and singed over an open fire, then exposed to the sun and mixed with smoking tobacco to the proportion of one-third sumac leaves and two-thirds tobacco.

[7] Smoking sumac clear or mixed with tobacco the Delawares regard as a peculiar custom of their own not shared by other peoples (see also Zeisberger, p. 116).

The Delawares were so fond of using this mixture that it is a legendary saying among them that on their hunting or scouting parties they could be identified from afar by the scent they left on the air. Having an earlier equipment with European firearms they were feared by other tribes who avoided them on this account. See also G. Catlin, Letters and Notes, Vol. II, 1841, pp. 101-2.

[8] The sacredness of red cedar (Juniperus virginiana) is a prominent feature [778
of Delaware ceremony (see p. 171). 824]

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Two Attendants sweep clean the House.[1] The man goes to the far 539x end from whence he begins to sweep, while the woman begins to sweep 796 from the door. Turkey wings are used when sweeping. Both Attendants finish sweeping at the same time when they arrive at the door and then for a while put away the wings.

Now it is permissible for anyone to go out, and quickly to come back inside because in a little while then again[2] will begin to stir those tortoise shell rattles, our Grandfathers.[3]

When they have come to where sits the next following Reciter-leader, or to anyone else feeling able to recite a vision and lead, it is permitted by the rule that he shake the rattle and, if desired, recite and lead.[4]

Recitation of Vision by Wi·ta'panoχwe[5]

"You, my kindred, are all acquainted with where I spent my childhood, 539x at Raccoon[6] Creek, where lived my defunct parents. Once upon 796 a time, then, my deceased mother scolded me. She drove me away because 787 I was continually looking at books. That is why she scolded me. She told me, "Go away somewhere into the wilderness, since it seems that all you do, you look at books." And she said, "For all the days to come you will be poor because the book stands in your way. Never will anything be revealed to you in a vision because you live like a white man."

Truly, my kindred, very greatly this matter impressed me concerning my deceased parents. And thereupon I began walking slowly there towards the direction where the sun sets, toward the timber. More

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[1] Performing the symbolical rite of clearing away obstacles from the floor of the White Path or dancing path along which the worshippers are traveling to the abode of the Great Spirit.

[2] It is not permitted at other times during the performance to leave the Big House (see also Harrington I, p. 96).

[3] This expressive phrase represents the simile, previously mentioned, of the tortoise carrying the earth, the ceremony, and life on a west-ward course. As the tortoise rattles are passed from one Reciter to another as an invitation to perform they go the entire length of the White Path. When they have been around the building and all the Reciters have carried out their programs the session of the ceremony is over for the night. The tortoise figures as the "moving spirit" in the Big House.

[4] This is the occasion to be seized by someone who has had a spirit-revelation but who has not recited it before.

[5] The narrator of the text is here anticipating himself in the rôle he is to play at the next Annual Ceremony to be attended. He had recited and led the singers on former occasions of worship, but only in that part of the ceremony, during the twelfth night, known as Aˢtehoᵉ'mwi·n. This stage of the ceremony, which will be described in its proper place (pages 155, 166), is the occasion provided for women reciters and men who have not arrived at spiritual maturity. Within the last year or so Wi·ta'panoxwe, as his hair has begun to show signs of gray, feels himself called upon to advance into taking an active major part in the ceremony. After much thought and mental preparation on his part we see here the results of his composition in the relation that follows.

[6] The Raccoon, na'hənəm, figures in the economic life of the tribe in a way never to be forgotten, for the term kwut·i· na'hənəm, "one raccoon," denotes [-16] twenty-five cents in currency in Delaware, a reminder of the time back in the east when in the fur trade a raccoon skin was worth a shilling. Other tribes in the north traded the beaver (Cree, Montagnais) and the skunk skin (Mistassini) on the same basis.

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and more heavy became my grief when I thought inwardly about 579x
myself, pondering how true indeed was that which my parent had 776●
spoken, in truth, in saying that never would anything be revealed to 777
me in a vision. And I thought it very likely that never I would experience a blessing that the Delaware is spiritually influenced by. Indeed, my kindred, I was humble in spirit for many years.

Now, when I became a grown man, far away in the country of the Creeks[1] where I was dwelling with them, one time when I was in the dark sometime during the night, I heard some persons coming towards me in the midst of the sky. It was here in the direction of the rising sun, whence they were coming. And when it happened that they stopped, it was right here over and above where I was lying.

I well remembered how she had spoken to me, my deceased mother, and I thought, "Lo and behold,[2] it must be that those are the spirit-forces my parent had talked about." I do not know just how my mind acted. When I looked toward them I saw nothing, pitiful me, although I well heard those Persons. I thought positively there must have been four of them and I thought, indeed, they looked wonderful. It must have been that because of the thing I was very much impressed, when it happened that they were saying to me, "Don't think that never will you have the spiritual power that the Delaware is blessed with!'"[3]

I am truly thankful, my kindred, I am happy that I stand in this our Father's path, the beautiful White Path of the Great Spirit.[4] I am truly humble, for me it is unbecoming in the extreme, pitiful as I am, because never did I think that sometime or another, all of a sudden, I would be performing in this our Ceremonial House, where I patiently listened to our deceased old people who capably worshipped. But, however, I will do my utmost. Take heed, you my kindred, to help me because you know now more and more we are growing weak. So perhaps if earnestly we help each other, quite unexpectedly we might gain a spiritual victory if he hears our appeal, he, the Creator.[5]

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[1] The Creek Indian is known to the Delawares as Ma'ěko, a proper name derived from the tribal eponym of the Muskogi, as the Creek designate themselves.

[2] The term ce·k'ta·ⁿ is an exclamation denoting surprise at the occurrence of something which is nevertheless vaguely expected.

[3] Wi·ta'panoxwe, who assumes himself to be the narrator now, is imagining that he would be seated among the members of his division (Pale·ⁿ). As the turtle-rattle is being passed around the Big House, after several of the older reciters had accepted it and performed their recitation and dance, it would come to his hands. Having decided to undertake the responsibility of beginning his career as a reciter, perhaps unknown to the rest of the worshippers, he would take the turtle-rattle and begin shaking it sideways while declaiming the preceding in a loud staccato voice. (A phonograph record of the narrators recitation was made and is preserved in the collection of the Historical Commission).

[4] With the first sentence of this address the narrator sees himself stepping out into the dancing path with his turtle-rattle. While he advances along the White Path he proceeds with the recitation following.

[5] The informant desired emphasis to be put on the reiteration of the humble spirit, lack of self-confidence but hopeful attitude of the Delaware mind.

539x
796
787

Still can I hear those Persons there as they were speaking. They said these words;[1]

'he! You are given the same blessing
hayuna hwi· hayuna hwi·[2]
You are given the same blessing
That the Delawares are blessed with,
Through their prayer,
All over the world
hayuna hwi· hayuna hwi·
weya wehe. Stop![3]

I am truly thankful as I address you, you men, you young men, you our women, and also you our children. I extend to you all every form of this blessing. Truly I am glad because so far we have enjoyed good health while we are gathered here in this House. Truly, as it is said, I feel grieved myself when I mention the teaching of my elder, and, as I well said, I remember how pitiful they seemed talking long ago, those defunct old men, when they related the manner of life back in the past, the past manners of that time. When I listened to them seriously it was that way. But now here it is worse. It looks hopeless at this time in consideration of our small number. It was even said a few years ago, my kindred, there were quite a number of persons all around yet sitting about. But nevertheless I shall try my utmost.

Truly with shame, so unbecoming is it for me. I did not even think that I would live sufficiently long, deserted through death,[4] that I should, unexpectedly be instructing here where they were instructing, so long ago, our deceased ancestors who so well performed the worship. And I am thankful, my kindred, when you help me in my effort, for that has always been the rule since the beginning of the world, that persons should help each other. For it is even said that a little child may unexpectedly call attention to something important. Therefore greatly does it help when anyone is assisted in his recitation. Truly, my kindred, there is not much of importance I have to say, but I am

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[1] The reciter now intones his song, a composition descriptive of his revelation and the emotions evoked by it, dancing along the path toward his first stopping point. Following the usual custom he shakes his rattle with the up and down vigorous motion. Then as in the case of the preceding recitation by Elkhair he halts at the close of his chant after signaling the drummers to stop, and the latter repeat his chant while he dances leading those who are accompanying him.

[2] These are the syllables with no specific word-meaning but used in chanting in a poetical sense.

[3] Upon the signal kwi·, "stop," the reciter gives a violent downward shake of the turtle-rattle and the drummers stop beating. At this pause the reciter begins dancing with his followers to the next stopping place, while the drummers, as explained before, repeat his chant. (dictophone record B, Pennsylvania Historical Commission).

[4] Meaning that, being left alone upon the death of his relatives, he did not expect to survive.

thankful to bring you a blessing from all those our grandfathers'[1] round 539x
about us, both in the earth and up above where they dwell, all of them, 796
according to Our Father the Great Spirit who has arranged it. And 787
that is the source from which we enjoy benefit when we are blessed.

This is all that there is for me to say."[2]

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[1] Meaning the carved images in the Big House and the unseen spirit-forces.

[2] The speaker gives his recitation in the same way every time during the twelve nights, even throughout the period of years during which he appears at the ceremony. As long as he lives he does not vary his recitation appreciably. For instance, when Joe Washington first gave his recitation he wept and did so each time he performed thereafter. The recitations are therefore formal.

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III

SECOND NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

[The procedure of the second night's performance follows that of the first night as respects the recitations by those who desire to chant their visions and to discourse.] 539x 796

Here now, when the last Reciter-Leader has finished, and when they have swept the House well, then the other male Attendants bring inside the Big House the hominy.[1] Everyone eats the hominy in company. Each and all of the women comes bringing a dish to dip it out with. The Attendant has authority to give out the amount allotted to each, so it is said. The boys carry mussel-shells[2] which are used the same [412] as when spoons are used. Now when everyone has eaten his share of the hominy, he feels happy for it, because the Bringer-in always says that this grain-food brings a spiritual blessing of strength when we set out to appeal to our common Father in the sky above. These Attendants first set apart a portion for each individual in his dish, because that is strictly understood to be the rule since long ago in the beginning of the world.[3]

THIRD NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

Thanks be given, my kindred that still we are blessed with good fortune. Now it is the third evening since here we have performed the ceremony in our temple-house. Now we beg, everyone of us, at his utmost that we may be favored by the pure spirit-force, by him the mask-spirit[4] because he is the one who owns and controls all the wild animals.[5] Now tomorrow morning all must be ready to accompany the

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[1] saa'paŋ, "boiled corn" was a cereal staple in the diet of the eastern Algonkian wherever they lived. The term is cognate with New England Algonkian samp which has passed into English. (For discussion of the term, its history and application see A. F. Chamberlain, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethnology, part II, p. 422). [262]

[2] The single shell of the fresh-water mussel (Unio companatus in the east, U. gibbosus, in the west) employed as a spoon is ees-e'm'hɔn. [237]

[3] The procedure of the subsequent three nights in the Big House is about the same as that recorded for the first. The same speakers recite their visions. The rites of sweeping and feasting are repeated similarly.

One might ask what the worshippers do to while away the day-time between the strenuous night performances besides procuring some much needed rest. Custom permits them to indulge in native games, mention of which will be found on page 69.

[4] Something has already been said of the mask-spirit as the guardian of game animals (p. 39). This man·it'·u is now to be made the object of worship in a pantomime of some importance.

[5] Herein lies a concept ripe for elaboration, since the doctrine of ownership of game animals is a fundamental one in the cosmology of the Algonkian hunters of the north, whose culture has been assumed to be fundamental to the family (see pp. 39-41).

hunt because to do so we concentrate our minds[1] in order that we may 539x
be favored with success. The Hunt-Leader and his assistant and also 796
the cook[2] must all be selected, and also the tobacco together with the rations for the journey. You Attendants must see to it with care that plenty of rations for the journey are furnished for all the hunters; -the bread.

ADDRESS ON THE FOURTH MORNING TO THE HUNTERS ABOUT TO LEAVE. THE MASK PERFORMANCE

Here now, my kindred, we have come to the fourth day since we 539x
began, in this place, to perform the ceremony. And each and every 796
one of us knows the ruling of this our form of Prayer-Worship. Now 782
we are using the tobacco our grandfather, while we are pleading earnestly with the Great Spirit. And the Mask-Spirit also, when we are giving thanks to him our grandfather Fire. This is how it is done by the Bringer-in[3], "I thank all the Spirit-Forces on top of the earth and all the Spirit-Forces up above. Wherefore we earnestly plead with grandfather when we give you to eat this red man's tobacco. Have pity on us here your grandchildren. They are begging you, Oh Mask-Spirit, that we may have success. Give us the wild animals since you control them, all the wild animals because we need that we may be blessed with this meat. And that one, our mother the corn, because of all the food given us I thank you Spirit Forces that we are given the blessing of your spirit-power. Now give us all we ask of you Great Spirit that you are and, our creator, think of your children."

Brothers![4] Now the Hunt Leader, and he who is assistant, and also 539x
the cook, you must all remember the instructions and traditional rules 796
that all persons who hunt observe as they journey. Here now being under our power, you are taking as you go the spirit-power of the Mask-Spirit, and tobacco is given the Hunt Leader and his assistant which they carry. Now when you have been gone two days it is permissible that any one who has killed something, they may use the meat.[5]

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[1] This means that the hunters who are now to go forth are to be supported and strengthened by the "power of wish," in concentration by the worshippers who stay behind in the Big House.

[2] Incidentally this is one of the occasions when the Attendants are obliged to furnish the food without the usual payment of wampum that they ordinarily receive.

[3] He prays as follows and sprinkles a little tobacco on each of the two fires of the Big House while declaiming.

[4] The Master of Ceremonies having finished his prayer now addresses the hunters who are ready to go forth. He charges them with their instructions as they stand directly in front of the drummers, facing him.

[5] This means that if no deer have been taken by the hunters by the second day they may kill and eat any animal for food since by this time they may be relieved from the monotony of the corn bread diet.
Some of the interesting observations of this event as remembered by the

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Now when they return from the hunt, the Hunt-Leader when now he has come near even if it is midnight, shall shoot a signal once for as many deer as were killed, shooting so many times. And now when the Cranes hear the signal-shot of the Hunter he shall immediately run into the Big House and begin to sing for these hunters. All the Attendants must be ready to feed the hunters and all the horses unsaddled and fed, for that is the rule and act governing the Attendants.[1] 53 9x 796

First the Bringer-in prays, using tobacco.[2] He bestows a blessing when offering praise to him our Father. This is sufficient for this time.[3] [782]

There is also, my kindred, an ancient custom that we beg the Mask-Spirit to dance for us. You Cranes, you know how and you understand those songs which are used for this occasion when singing for the Mask. Every person who wants to go in the Big House is permitted to look on while the Mask dances in the Big House.[4]

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informant, who has taken part in this hunting rite, are that the leader distribute portions of tobacco to the hunters who are under his control. At each night's camp the stopping place is selected by him, the rations of food are distributed, tobacco is offered to the fire with a prayer by the leader and other details suggesting the rules governing the war parties' conduct among Central Algonkian and in the southern Plains areas. [228]

Wi-ta'panoxwe, it is interesting to note, recalled, during his experience with the hunting squad, how a screech-owl cried near their camp one night; which has long been a sign of good luck (see also Zeisberger, p. 139). The next day he killed a deer, being the first of the party to do so. [825 777]

[1] The hunters are not obliged to be concerned with the trouble of saddling, unsaddling or feeding their horses when enlisted in the sacred task of the ceremonial hunt. The Attendants take over all such duties of service to them and their animals.

[2] He burns a little tobacco in the fire.

[3] Hereupon it being between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, the hunters leave, departing westward toward the Osage nation nowadays, the only hunting ground accessible to them.

[4] The man wearing the mask and the bear-hide clothes keeps the mask and clothes some hundred yards from the Big House at the edge of the brush in the open, hung upon a branch to keep it away from the dogs. Anyone who desires to perform this rite may put on the paraphernalia and accept the invitation as given above, and go into the Big House and dance. His dance lasts about ten minutes anywhere in the Big House that he desires. The mask when worn is held by the chin with the holder's fingers in the mouth of the mask, so that the wearer can adjust the focus of the eyes of the carving to his own focus of vision. The eye holes are small, yet the mask could be adjusted so that the performer could see as though he were looking through spectacles. To be able to do this was considered as a sign of spiritual greatness. It might be added that the face illustrated in Harrington's study (Fig. 1, p. 32) has the left eye-hole enlarged, something that had been done improperly, according to the informant. He leaves wearing the garb and returns it to the place where it is kept (fig. 9). This all takes place before noon.

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IV

FOURTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

539x
796

The Attendants call the men.[1] "Red Horns must be hereabouts!" The Attendant calling out, "Red-Horns!, Red-Horns!" "Good-Horns must be hereabouts!" If he answers[2] the Attendant says, "Now he has answered." "Looks-like-a-Man must be hereabouts!" "Now he has answered." "Rises-at-Daybreak must be hereabouts!" "Leaf-Man must be hereabouts." "Now he has answered." "How-the-Weather-is must be hereabouts." "Now he has answered."[3]

The Bringer-in says, "Brothers, here is the one shoulder length of wampum. You, the first ones called, take it with you and pray outside, ten and two times. Lift the prayers on high and where he dwells our father, the Great Spirit. And while these praying ones are outside you Attendants must be ready to 'pick berries.'[4] Attendant come here, take one shoulder length of wampum right over there on this side where stands Our Grandfather.[5] There do you unstring these wampum beads. All Attendants come in, because here, soon they are going to pick berries'."

Here they begin "picking berries," the Attendants, saying this, "m·+!".[6]

The speaker says, "My kindred, now it is the fourth evening since we have been worshipping here. And should any one of the hunters whatsoever have good fortune all of a sudden, some one of the drummers be careful and watch for them at once. Because you know the rule. If you hear the signal-shot run inside the Big House at once. You must sing for them."

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[1] Now at the opening of the fourth night's performance following the departure of the hunters on their ceremonial hunting excursion, and after the Mask-Spirit has performed his antics in the Big House, the rites of the night are resumed by the Master of Ceremony who orders the Attendants to call forth certain of the old men of prominence to offer prayer for the success of the hunters. There is some honor attached to this selection, the men so singled out being called in a loud voice by their native names or titles.

The informant is pretending, in the text, that some prominent men are being called. He has changed his style of narration into the form of a monologue.

[2] Whereupon the men thus summoned by the Attendant answer "Hau" or "Yo'," when they hear their names called and come into the Big House.

[3] Those whose names have been called who form a praying squad now go outside and facing eastward raise their right hands giving the prayer-call ho·+ six times and hä+ six times.

[4] "Picking the berries" is a figure of speech referring to the action of the six Attendants, three men and three women, who crouch down and pick up the scattered wampum beads spilled as commanded on the hard ground under the center post, and cram as many as they can into their mouths. This causes some innocent mirth among the audience. They accompany the act with the sound m·+ as noted in the next few lines. Their action symbolizes the habit of "birds picking up berries," (a sympathetic rite perhaps). The informant did not consider the performance to have any deep symbolical reference, but merely a method of paying extra wampum to the Attendants for their services.

[5] Referring to the mask-images on the center-post.

[6] In Harrington's account, (I, pp. 90-100) of this rite the Attendants are put down as saying "Ho-o-o!"

V

THE FIFTH AND SIXTH NIGHTS OF THE CEREMONY

[The performance of the usual recitations and dances of the previous nights is repeated.] 539x 796

SEVENTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY
RETURN OF THE HUNTERS

Now, my kindred, it is the seventh evening come since we have brought in this pure prayer-worship. Now it is very pleasing that we have had good fortune, that these our young men and that he my son "Walking-four-abreast" and "With-Wings"[1] have killed game. I am indeed thankful. On account of it at least we feel pleased, and we use the animal that we offer up as a sacrifice when we are pleading [792] with the Great Spirit.[2]

And it is truly grand that we are having good weather each and every day, on account of which we enjoy good health. When we wake up to another day, when we see him our elder brother the sun how he lights up all this earth, which causes an emotion within us, when we feel the coming warmth of his breath of life. And we are truly thankful when we acknowledge the blessing of the Night-Traveler, our elder brother the Night-Moon.[3] For we have heard the deceased, our ancient people of the past while they were explaining these many things say, according to tradition, "Night-Moon and also those stars, all of them were put in place by him who owns us.[4] That one, our father the Wind, and that one, our mother Water, flowing stream[5] and that one, our grandfather Fire, all are sitting around us; the Spirit-forces.[6] Truly, my kindred, I feel very discouraged, pitiful me. It is unbecoming for me, I feel unable, as it is said, to instruct my own kindred in blessings, so difficult is it now and so heavily are we oppressed. For instance now, when we are about to be touched by these Spirit-forces, the shell-rattles, be careful, my kindred, we must remember that we are praying for a blessing to the Great Spirit. And it is wonderful that he feels sympathy for us, he our father, also our Creator, in those wild animals which he has given us.[7]

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[1] The narrator of the text is assuming that the ceremonial hunt has had a happy conclusion; that the two young men named have been blessed with game.

[2] The informant compared the offering of "wild animal" flesh in this capacity with the Hebraic offering of a pure lamb on the altar. Said he, "It shows the real feeling of the worshipper to offer this pure clean flesh."

[3] It may be recalled here that both the luminaries are moons according to Delaware conceptions.

[4] Another means of designating the Great Spirit.

[5] A metaphor for our mother Water.

[6] Referring to the man·i't·u controlling the world of nature but especially referring to the carved images on the post of the Big House who symbolize the Spirit-force behind everything that possesses life. [776]

[7] In the preceding passage we have an example of the high sounding discourse which the Delaware language is capable of expressing.

EIGHTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

[The usual performance is repeated.]

VI

NINTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

"Now Attendants, you understand by the rules of this teaching, 539x that you keep in mind each of and all of you, that a person must act in 796 purity.[1] All of us have heard the regulations of the past of our deceased ancestors. They said, according to tradition, that a clean pure person shall kindle fire. Because when using those fire-making spirit-forces, [783] if the person should fail to make fire it would clearly seem a fact that he who tries to make fire is not clean. Nevertheless my brothers everything is easy when correctly done. Now you understand that you shall purify these two places where the fire always is. All the ashes shall be carried out there through the sun-set door that is so intended for it, and when we have finished the ceremony the Bringer-in goes out through it. Such is the rule for everybody in this our prayer-worship.

I am thankful, my kindred, I can address you with respect.[2] I am truly well pleased when I can extend to you[2] all every token of high respect and esteem. Now, my kindred, we have lived on to the point where we are cleaning this fire here in our ceremonial House.[3] I am indeed thankful that we have come so far in good health as this evening comes on, because this night we know how we have seen our deceased aged people perform, those who so thoroughly carried out the teachings and the strict rules of procedure.

And, my kindred, everyone who owns turtle-rattles should bring them with him when coming into the Big House. And right here where sits the Bringer-in, right opposite that place they should put them in a straight line, all those turtle-rattles. And Attendants, you know that you must prepare and make ready everything such as, for instance, those drum sticks,[4] and the cedar, and also that red paint, blood root, and the prayer sticks; everything that is used now on this night must be prepared for certain.

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[1] To have been "pure and clean," the Attendants must have refrained during the ceremony period from sexual intercourse, intoxication and the like. They may not enter the Big House to prosecute their duties if they have violated these rules.

[2] aggo'ma, the verb used here cannot be rendered by a single equivalent in English so I have been obliged to paraphrase it as it occurs in the text from a choice of equivalents "to show respect for some one, to honor, esteem, invoke a blessing, to greet, to shake hands with."

[3] The importance of fire as a symbol of moral purity and as an emblem [372] of life and health in Delaware philosophy can hardly be over estimated. A short discourse on the symbolism of fire has been given in the introduction and the beliefs outlined there should be recalled with the reading of the sermon that follows.

[4] This refers to both the plain and the carved drum sticks.

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Now, the first thing that the Leading Attendant is to do is to take 539^x one shoulder-length of wampum, carefully and properly to measure 746 ● those turtle-rattles so everyone will be given wampum beads in accordance [804] with the length of the backs of his turtle-rattle.[1] And, my kindred, we have been permitted to see right here how, as it is said, the Attendants call by name those persons whom they send for.

[Repeat the procedure of first paragraph page 143, in which certain men are called by name to enter the big house and pray as was done on the fourth night.]

Ye my brothers, here now is one shoulder-length of wampum.[2] My kindred go give the prayer-call out doors. When twelve times the supplication shall have been lifted up then you shall divide the wampum equally among you. Attendants, build up a bright fire. Now everyone who owns turtle-rattles go take them and shake them, these turtle-rattles, as should be done. When everything is ready, including those forked drumsticks, do you scatter all those prayer sticks in an even number on each side[3] of the Big House. Now my kindred again

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[1] This rite has the significance of a symbol—or spiritual compensation for the service of vision recitation, and the blessing it brings to the people, of those who have so performed. Harrington (I, pp. 103-4) makes mention of this rite, and speaks of the owners of the rattles, when reclaiming the rattles and the wampum placed with them, shaking the rattle several times to test its sound. He adds that if it does not sound well the owner, abashed, takes his property out of sight as soon as possible. Our informant corrected this impression by pointing out that the owners shook these rattles intentionally as though to say thanks, and that there was a spirit of drollery in the pass [522] which caused sometimes a ripple of mirth, not as serious in mien as Harrington understood it to be.

[2] There is an interval here. The speaker has turned to those chosen to give the prayer call. He has given to the owners of the rattles, those who have reciting their visions during the ceremony, the amount of wampum measured off on their shells. They accept this by taking the rattle and shaking them a few times. Some mirth may be aroused among those present if the sound of the rattles is not clear.

[3] In the distribution of the Prayer Sticks among the spectators, the first and second attendants go from one end of the Big House to the other, going in opposite directions (east to west, and west to east). They lay the sticks in front of the people at reasonable distances apart, placing them so that the decorated sticks are opposite each other and the plain ones opposite each other. If the sticks do not come opposite each other, it must be done over again. The singers chant a certain song while this distribution is taking place. I [778] should add that each Attendant distributes three plain and three decorated sticks. The symbolism of the six (spotted) or decorated sticks represents the cry of ho+ in the prayer call, the plain sticks the cry of hä+, although all the prayers mingle in the calls, irrespective of whether they have been bestowed with the decorated or plain sticks. The informants words were added, "There has to be a way of showing the difference between the beginning cries of ho+ and the ending cries of hä+, so it is shown on the sticks by the marks."

(Specimens of the prayer sticks made by the informant, are 14 inches in length, made of red maple and sassafras, fig. 14).

these spirit-forces are beginning to touch those who carry on this our prayer-ceremony.[1] 539x
796

Now the Attendants sweep the Big House clean. Now the leading Attendants make fire and burn cedar.[2]

"I am thankful, Oh thou Great Spirit, that we have been spared to live until now to purify with cedar smoke this our House, because that has always been the rule in the ancient world since the beginning of creation. [782] When anyone thinks of his children how fortunate it is to see them enjoying good health. And this is the cause of a feeling of happiness when we consider how greatly we are blessed by the benevolence of our father, the Great Spirit. And we can also feel the great strength of him our grandfather Fire for which we cause him pleasure when we purify and take care with it, and when we feed him this cedar. All of this together we offer in esteem to him, our grandfather, because he has compassion when he sees how pitifully we behave while we are pleading with all the spirit-forces above as they were created and with all those here on earth. Give us everything, our father, that we ask of you Great Spirit even the Creator."[3]

Now the leading Attendant shall carry around a wooden bowl of wampum beads. To every person he shall give equally three wampum [331] beads.[4] But the Following Attendant, a woman Attendant, shall carry a bark bowl containing paint and bloodroot so that everyone shall be [332] anointed with paint.[5]

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[1] At the conclusion of these rites on the ninth evening the recitation of visions and the dancing around the White Path is resumed by the reciters as on the preceding nights. When the last reciter has completed his round the ceremony procedes as announced in the ensuing paragraph with the burning of cedar.

[2] At this juncture the Leader goes to the fire at the east of the center post while the cedar is burning and then to the west fire, and delivers the following prayer in a low tone.

[3] With the ending of his prayer the Leader has timed his movements so that his time was divided before each of the two fires of the Big House while the cedar incense had been burning.

[4] Those receiving the beads can keep them if desired. But it was customary for them to return the wampum to the common fund by putting them in a [335] little bowl standing on one of the hominy mortars outside after the meeting is over for that night. It was only by redonation of this nature that the supply of wampum necessary for conducting the ceremony could be assured.

[5] Some notes on the use of blood-root (Sanguinaria canadensis) as a red stain, or an anointment administered to the faces of all the worshippers, [336] have been included in the introduction. A point, however, arises in the matter of ceremonial usage here as recorded in Harrington's study (I, pp. 105-6). He mentions that a bowl of grease is carried around from which the attendants anoint the skin of those to be painted. It might be inferred that some religious significance is attached to the use of grease in this act. And especially [illegible] so in view of the similar function of grease among the far northern Algonkian who use grease rubbed on the face as "feeding the soul-spirit." Questioning the informant on this interesting point, however, only brings out the simple statement that the grease is put on to protect the skin from the effects of the paint, or peˀkɔn, which tends to be irritating. The grease is also put on the carved faces in this case to make the paint, put on after, sink in better. One might imagine, nevertheless, that at some former time the putting on of the grease was more of a rite than it is now.

When all is ready then shall either one of these Attendants paint 539x
every Carved Image in the Big House. For that, my kindred, since 796
ancient days is the rule and conduct of the Delaware when they intended to place our father, the Great Spirit.

Attendants, bring into the House your cooking and your dishes. [554]
Each and everybody who brings a dish give him to eat some hominy and meat. When eating is finished, then shall everybody who desires to sleep in the House bring whatever things to use he may choose such as bed clothes.[1] Here now it is nine evenings since we have camped.[2]

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[1] This is to be noted as a privilege accorded for this time to the worshippers who are attending the ceremony—a sanctification.

[2] The Delawares are widely scattered over Washington County, of the [242]
Cherokee Nation, hence in congregating for the ceremony they are obliged to domicile themselves in tents.

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VII

TENTH AND ELEVENTH NIGHTS OF THE CEREMONY

[The performance of the usual recitations and dances is repeated.]

TWELFTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

THE A·TEHO'MWI·N

539x
796

I am thankful, my kindred, that we have come to the point where we are bringing to a close our worship which is so greatly esteemed.[1] I am indeed thankful that so far we have enjoyed good health from the commencement when we came here to camp, and because, my kindred, there are many more things that we want to do here tonight. I am glad, my brothers and my sisters and also those our children for so much good fortune as we have been blessed with for instance for such good weather as we have had day after day. As it was back in the beginning so, for instance, it is here. There is our grandfather Fire and these our grandfathers sitting around in our midst,[2] we should feel joy on account of them all as this evening has come.

And, my kindred, this night it is permitted that any one may take part in "the-performance-after-letting-the-fires-go-out"[3] because that has always been the rule since ancient times, since the beginning of the Gamwiŋ of the Delawares. Whence also it is known that upon the twelfth evening then and there is the time that they take part in and help; namely, these our women and any other person who feels competent among our young people whose mind is made up. Yes, anyone truly may be permitted to perform "the-performance-after-letting-the-fire-go-out." For there are those older men who have been assigned the duty to maintain this our prayer-worship. For truly indeed this performance is a heavy burden because it is a very great thing. That is why he, our elder brother the white man looks at it as such, a wonderful performance. Because they regard us and see how earnestly we act the humble part in this our House of Worship, on account of it the government has great concern. And that is why we obtain help and

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[1] This sermon represents the opening of the ceremony on the twelfth night. Since the conclusion of the last speech, on the ninth night the procedure of the intervening period (the tenth and eleventh nights) has been a repetition of the usual recitations and dancing gone through before.

[2] Referring again to the carved images on the posts of the Big House.

[3] The designation for this stage of the ceremony is a·teho'mwi·n. As the fires are now allowed to burn out, the ceremony is conceived as drawing to its close. The reciters who have played the major rôle up till this time no longer take the lead, for, as we are told, the meeting is to be turned over into the hands of the women and younger people who feel called to lead the dances, playing a minor part. Other notes on the symbolism of this ceremonial rite of conclusion have been offered in the introduction, pp. 57-8. Several specimen narratives, the minor recitations and song compositions, and experiences of men and women who gave them, as remembered by Witapano'xwe are given in the appendix, note I.

also are supplied with an officer to protect us. And my kindred, it 539x
is evident that we have help since this Delaware conduct in ceremony 796
is everywhere known since ancient times from place to place as the Delewares migrated. Because truly indeed, in the ancient world since the beginning of the earth was made by the Great Spirit back in the land of the sunrise on the coast where lived our deceased ancesters. Wherefore all of this should delight us because tomorrow is a new day and before we reach noon-time[1] we must complete the service.[2]

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[1] For the ceremony to extend over noontime of the next day would bring [801]
it into the thirteenth day, by which the concept of "twelve," symbolizing the progress of the ceremony through the twelve heavens to the abode of the Great Spirit, would be broken.

[2] After the delivery of this address the women and young men prepare for the a·'teho'mwi·n.

The old women who have had any spiritual experiences are usually expected to take part first. They are given the preference. The turtle-rattle, to begin with, remains before the master of ceremonies. The old woman who has decided to dance takes the turtle and walks out into the path in front of the master-of-ceremonies. The man who has been decided upon to help the women and the young men is standing there also and when the woman takes the rattle he takes his place at her left and his assistant behind him also with a rattle.

They then begin dancing around the 'White Path,' she singing her chant. Any one present can now join in the dance, with the exception of children. They pass around the 'White Path' stopping at the usual intervals between the songs. (This is done to give opportunity for a short rest). Thus they move two abreast, the men dancers behind the male leader and his assistant, the women dancers behind the woman who is singing. There are speeches made by these women as in the case of the men of the preceding nights. They make the circuit around once, stopping before the master of ceremonies where they began. (For songs see Appendix note I).

Any young women or young men who feel the impulse to try out a song they may have acquired perform in the way just described.

If any one, moreover, should desire to lead a dance but does not feel able to do it himself or herself, he may induce one of the men who have recited their visions to lead the dance in their place. This is called "hiring," dalowka·'is ndali·' li·ka·'kwun, literally "hiring some one to support one." The employer in such a case derives spiritual benefit the same as though he had led the dance himself. The payment for this service is an arm-length of wampum.

At the end of which the Attendants bring in hominy and meat which is divided among those wishing to eat. The hides of such deer as have been killed are given to the old women, generally to those who have recited their vision chants on the evening before.

VII

THIRTEENTH MORNING OF THE CEREMONY FINAL DANCE AROUND THE CENTER POST

539x
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'Here now the time has come for all these our sisters to join and dance, and join in a single file outdoors.[1] And all the men and children besides, everybody may wear Delaware garb and go into the Big House. Yet whatever anyone wears it is the rule to go in. But women, from right here next the door, shall begin to form in single file. When they have formed a line then the assistant Concluder[2] should shake the Leading Tortoise-Rattles. Ten and two times he shall shake them and shall say when shaking them, 'kwi·ya+!' And all of the women from the leading one through to the end of the row shall answer, all of them, and say 'hu·+[3]!'

I am thankful, my kindred, that again I address you all as brothers, men, young men, our sisters and also all those our children. It is truly fine that we have good weather this morning, that we are so well blessed by him our elder brother, the day moon, when his coming illuminates all the earth. For now it is ten and two days since we have performed here while we were pleading earnestly with our father, the Great Spirit, as we all know. It is truly fine and I am glad when we are helping each other, and when this our prayer-worship is given such great consideration, and for the marvelousness of the service of those our Attendants now soon to be finished. And there is here for [465] each one, one shoulder-length of wampum that we pay them, although worth much more are their services, because exceedingly heavy is this which we are doing.[1] 539x 776

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[1] After the trying out dances of the minor participants on the twelfth evening the scene has closed for the night and the master of ceremonies is giving the opening address, with instructions for the procedure of the thirteenth morning. The final dance now to be ordered takes place around the center post of the Big House beneath the images of the Great Spirit before which a serious prayer-call is given. It bears the name of Təma·'hama, "conclusion."

[2] The master of ceremonies is so designated now.

[3] As the leader cries kwi.ya+ the first woman in the line answers with hu·+ followed by the next until all have been heard from consecutively as they "count off."

As the cry hu· hu· hu· resounds in turn down the line of women, they form inside the Big House in the manner indicated by the diagram (fig. 13) and proceed around the dance ring as shown by the double black lines, dancing to the points marked, and stopping. Then so on until they circle four times around the center posts. As they circle around the 'grandfather' they raise their heads to touch the images as on the previous occasions during the night dances. This time, however, some of them are carrying the prayer sticks. Those having them touch the images with them; this being what [782] we might term a more intense form of prayer since the prayer sticks are employed. It might be noted that the six decorated prayer sticks symbolize the six ho·+ cries of the prayer-call, the six plain ones the six hă·+ cries, given each time they pray.

Hardly, for example, can I tell how precious it is. But, however, we have heard our deceased ancestors as they were speaking about it say, according to the custom, that the labor of the Attendant, when he makes fire, when he feeds us, when he provides plenty of fire wood, and when he sweeps the House clean;—all of this purification is the cause of bringing joy to the One who created us.[2] For now we have moved along toward where the ceremony closes. Let us consider, my kindred, if it would not bring us good health if again next year right here once more we perform the ceremony.

And besides, my kindred, there remains one more matter, something I want to say for you to bear well in mind. It is said traditionally, when any one on Good meditates in his heart, there is formed the thought. And when he thinks of good it is easy to behave well, but when he misbehaves it is the Evil that a person seriously thinks about as concerns his life. It is exceedingly hard because it is necessary that we prepare the soul-spirit in order that we shall be able to take it back home again to where it belongs, to Our Father, when its use is finished here where we live. Here in this place it is the body that shall remain here because here is where it belongs in the ground.[3]

Indeed, my kindred, that is why, as it is said, I plead with you that everyone take part and help me, or call it to my attention if sometimes I forget something. Always have I seen it this way since long ago. Yet at times, as it is said, I feel not to have grasped it sufficiently in mind. That is why, as it is said, I feel well pleased when any one calls my attention to something.

The Attendants must prepare wampum in a wooden bowl and every person shall be given three beads, and every person who wishes to, when he is now leaving to go outdoors, there where sets the hominy mortar may deposit them, whoever has been given these wampum beads. [425]

And now, my kindred, here when for the last time we are touched by these our grandfathers the turtle-rattles, that is the beginning of our concluding act. Now here at last we are ready to end this Our Father's service. And, my kindred, now from hence as we are going

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[1] The master of ceremonies having now brought the worship to its close now makes his final bow with an eloquent declaration of humility, a summary of the spiritual force of what has been done and an appeal to the loyalty of his tribesmen.

[2] Another designation for the Great Spirit; as the explanation runs, "We are his children." [776]

[3] Mention has already been made, in the introduction, of Delaware eschatology, how it is believed that the heart is the seat of one soul, the blood of another remaining on earth after burial. [775]

home, you must take good care, for you are carrying with you the 539x
spirit of Delaware worship. From now on for one year at least, we 796
shall enjoy benefit from all the spirit-forces given us, those on top of the earth and those up above as they were created to have mercy upon us, and besides from him Our Father, the Great Spirit, even Our Creator. This will be all for this time.

Now, my kindred, for the last time we go out to pray, everybody with all his heart. And you know that we shall go out to the east and shall carry with us the wampum that is left unused because that is our heart[1] when we appeal for a blessing to our father with whom belongs the Delaware's soul. And let us consider, every one of us earnestly, as the prayer reaches up above, and we express our faith with this wampum in our heart, because through ten and two levels [788
of the sky we lift our prayer-appeal to where dwells him Our Father 776]
the Great Spirit, even the Creator.[2]

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[1] A short discourse on wampum given in the introduction (page 64) mentions this simile.

[2] Upon this announcement the wampum beads remaining available for this purpose are tied together into one string [the informant remembered when the Big House treasury contained fifteen or twenty strings, or arm lengths, but in recent years the total length has decreased to some twelve or fifteen feet] and held resting on their hands in a line reaching from one end of the row of people to the other as far as it will go. Facing east they raise the prayer-call, six times calling ho·+ and six times hä·+. This concludes the rite.

With this prayer the last word of the Bringer-in who has at the same time been Master of Ceremonies pronounces his last word of formality, his duties are ended before the sun has reached the noon point of the thirteenth day since the worshippers have convened—the termination point established by traditional ruling. And the great ceremony is ended. The assembled families now prepare to betake themselves home. As the Big House is emptied, the ceremonial property is removed by the Attendants, the premises swept out, the doors set in place, the bar posts raised as a symbol of vacancy—a method of "locking up" habitations when the occupants are away in vogue everywhere among Algonkian people. Conveyances are loaded with camping paraphernalia and household goods and the prairie roads become dusty with the passage of the Delaware cortége on its way in various directions to distant homesteads.

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APPENDIX

NOTE I

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Specimens of Recitation-Songs Given in the Aᵉteho'mwi·n Performance.

The following song recitative of one of the oldest women will serve as an example of the type of performance enacted by the women who have had spiritual experiences. The performer was Mawa't·eᵉa, "Bundle-in-good-condition," a Munsee woman the grandmother of the informant who died about 1914 at an estimated age of 109.

Her song (dictaphone record G)[1] relates to a "mermaid" which she had encountered in a river when a child of eight or nine years of age, determined by the event of the "falling stars" referring to a rain of meteors which she remembered seeing. The informant had heard her experience narrated many times during her life and her song chanted for many years in the Annual Ceremony. Hence he knew both well. The experience as related was as follows:

She was being taken on horseback by her mother across country on a journey to purchase some whiskey as was the custom among the women at that time. Her mother was riding the horse when, coming to a river which had risen by the freshets, she fell off in mid-stream. Neither she nor the horse were seen again. The little girl, Mawa't·eᵉa, remained on the bank alone. No one knowing what had happened for nine days the child existed without human help. Finally a passing party discovered her and restored her to relatives. Then she related the unusual experience, how shortly after the accident a spotted woodpecker came to her every day bringing sufficient bread to keep her alive. To her the bird appeared as a little man garbed in native clothes and wearing a little hat all patterned and decorated to correspond with the markings on the birds feathers. It was not until the fourth or fifth day that she discovered him to have human form; one time when on the point of leaving he turned his back. Her benefactor sustained her with magic food. The next day of her lonely sojourn by the fateful river, there appeared to her a female emerging from the water, the lower part of whose body was that of a fish. Long streaming hair some yards in length floated about her covering her upper parts. The child tried to help her from the river when she asked her but the water-woman told her that it would be in vain since that was her fate. She announced, however, to the child that she was to be her guardian henceforth, that she would have health and live to a very, very advanced age.

She concluded her mission by telling the poor child that she would

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[1] In collection of the Museum of the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.

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not behold her again until a time when she would be seen in a dream precisely one year before death would remove her from the world, by which sign she would know that she had a year to live. Mawa'te's verily grew old with full confidence in her vision and lived for almost a century to chant her song of the "mermaid" visitation every year at the woman's part of the ceremony. On her one hundred and eighth year as was thought, she declared that the "mermaid" appeared to her as preordained and announced to her family the meaning of the event. Precisely one year from that day, having settled her affairs in the meantime, she lay down peacefully and died.

We have every reason to regard this experience and narrative as being typical of the old Delaware psychic life.

Several other minor experiences, the recitation of which fell into the final stage of the annual ceremony, are given in the following abstracts.

Wi·tapano'χwe's mother, Hannah E. Big Deer (Armstrong) or Yu'eti·n (from Justina, a German name), of the Pale' group, when a small child was treated by her parents in a manner to evoke sympathy. They often called her Sa'ki·a, or "Sauk," a term of derision, because she was so dark. This was done, following custom, to cause her to have a vision. She went about grieving, finally wandering to the river bank where she stopped under a tree-root which hung over the bank. She pulled at the earth under the tree until it was about to fall over and kill her, when pe'tha'kowe, "Thunder," came and, holding the tree up led her to safety and promised to help her. She never said much about it except that the Thunder took her up into the clouds to show her his power.

William Brown (Tu'k'si·t group) also had Thunder for a helper. He never recited his vision in the main ceremony, but during the a'teho'mwi·n he told how "Those Beings," without mentioning their names, took him up above. He said that they had nice feathers in their hair which they waved to make lightning.

Wi·tapano'xwe for his part, like many of the younger men who did not consider themselves quite capable nor mature enough to lead (wendji·kane'i·) in the serious part of the ceremony, has been accustomed to take part in the dance-leading (a'teho'mwi·n) on the twelfth night. This performance was merely a dance, the song accompaniment to which is a brief composition hinting at the event connected with his vision. As noted in connection with the a'teho'mwi·n dances, the performers do not carry on the protracted sermon recitations and the procession intervals around the White Path.

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Wi·tapano'xwe's rehearsal composition is as follows:[1]

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[1] Dictophone record H. State Museum collection. The kindness of Mr. Harold MacGuffin should be acknowledged here for his loan of a dictophone in the process of recording the Delaware chants.

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x539 nat·a nek tele'ləm·u'k·un
● 796 wani· lə'n·ap·e eᵉ'leləmu'k·uk
533 awi·'tap·e naχpe'ləmuk·uk
weᵉmi· neᵉχpeᵉləmu'k·ɔ wani ləna'p·e
kweᵉna'mowi·

Free translation.

Brought to you are those same blessings
That the Delaware is blessed with,
As to one of the tribe, the blessing is extended;
All the Delaware is blessed with
Through his religion.

He repeats this song over and over again until he has completed the circuit of the White Path, and returned with his line of dancers to the point where he arose to lead.

The informant also happened to remember the song of Joe Washington (Ni·kaᵉ'nipaχoᵉxwe "Leading-Man")[1]

di·hiləne'mən a'weᵉmoχweya'ne
yu'ni· elᵊma'kami·k
wa'ni· ləna'p·e ·paᵉ'tamweɔ'k·an
di·hiləne'mən a'weᵉmoχweya'ne
ayayaᵉ'ne elᵊma'kami·k
awi·ta'peɔk·an·o'wa

Free translation.

This is how I do,
When I travel over this earth,
The Delaware religion!
This is how I do when I travel
When traveling over the universe.
Their tribal relationship!
Kwi·'ya kwi·[2]
Huᵉ[3]

---

[1] Dictophone record H, State Museum collection.
[2] The first, or leading dancer's, ending cry.
[3] The second, or assistant dancer's ending cry.

My purposes in this article are to describe a fairly typical peyote 121
meeting of the Delawares which I attended in the summer of 1952, 795
and to discuss the changes which have occurred in this cult since 1930
when Petrullo made his study of Delaware peyotism (Petrullo, 1934).

THE BIG MOON PEYOTE CEREMONY

The Big Moon ceremonies of the Delawares are normally held in 276
canvas covered tepees, generally in the cooler months of the year, but 795
occasionally in hot weather. The reason for their seasonal nature is 796
said to be in the interests of comfort; a tepee with a fire burning in it
on a hot Oklahoma night is almost unbearable. Big Moon ceremonies
are held on Saturday nights and last until Sunday noon. The peyote
meeting I am about to describe was held on the farm of a Delaware,
about ten miles east of the small town of Dewey, Washington County,
Oklahoma. A tepee, about twenty feet in diameter, had been erected [346]
a few steps from the back door of the farm house. A bale of hay had
been scattered about near the inside walls of the tepee; tarpaulins and
quilts had then been spread over the hay, upon which the participants
were to sit. In the center of the tepee was an oval depression, or fire- [354]
place, excavated to a depth of about six inches (Fig. 1). Extending
from the fireplace were twelve lines or rays, made by scoring the hard
ground to a depth of about half an inch. Within the fireplace, also
scored in the earth, was a cross and at the intersection of its arms a
heart-shaped figure. The fire, which was built over this heart, was
made of twelve sticks interlaced in a V-shaped pattern with the open
end towards the tepee entrance.

Just east of the fire, and lying along the long axis of the cross, was a [372]
stick of soft wood. One end was kept smoldering during the ceremony
and was used to light corn husk-Bull Durham cigarettes. At the east
end of the fireplace was a raised circular mound of hard packed earth.
On the center of this mound, symbolic of the Sun, another heart had
been scratched. On the opposite, or west side of the fireplace was the [778]
altar. This was an oblong, slightly raised, earthen area, on which was
placed the ritual paraphernalia. In its center on a beaded cloth was a
large, green peyote, or "Father Peyote." Just behind it a feathered and
beaded peyote staff had been thrust into the ground. On the altar to
the south of these objects was a glass bowl of green peyote, a kettle of
peyote tea, and a leather bag of dried peyote buttons. To the north of
"Father Peyote" on the altar was the drum used to accompany the [534]
singers (an old fashioned cast iron kettle, partly water-filled, and
covered with a tightly drawn, wet, buckskin cover), and a bunch of

sage.

276 sage. The fireplace and the altar had been made many years pre-
795 viously, showing much use by being smooth and hard packed.

796 While the man who was to tend the fire and guard the door (fire-chief) and several helpers were arranging the tepee, several women were preparing peyote in the farmhouse kitchen. Peyote tea was made by chopping up dried peyote buttons and dropping them in boiling water. After steeping for a few minutes the tea was strained. Green peyote was prepared by peeling off the leathery skin, only the tops
[372] being left intact. A little before ten o'clock the fire-chief lit the fire in the tepee with flint and steel. As soon as he came out of the tepee the leader (or road-chief) entered, followed by the drum-chief, the fourteen other participants, and finally the fire-chief. This meeting was somewhat atypical in the small number of participants; attendance usually averaged about twenty-five. After everyone was seated the drum-chief, a Sioux from the Pipe Ridge Reservation in South Dakota,
[782] announced that several people had prayers and announcements to make. The road-chief, a Winnebago, then prayed in his own language. As translated next day, this prayer welcomed the participants and
[755] asked for divine assistance in the conduct of the meeting. This meeting had been initiated by a Delaware woman who was ill (No. 14 in Fig. 1), and she stood up and thanked everyone for coming and assisting her in regaining her health. Another Delaware (No. 3 in Fig. 1)
[609] then said a few words, principally to the effect that the "Native American Church" was not "idolatry" and that he was glad to welcome a white couple (the writer and his wife) to a meeting "to see what it really was like."

The road-chief then prayed again in Winnebago. When this prayer was concluded, he passed the peyote staff and a bunch of sage to the man on his left, who passed it on in a clockwise direction until it had

[text continues on p.206]

276
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795
796

(Explanation of Figure 1)

A. Altar
B. Fire. To some peyotists the heart represents the soul of the Fire Spirits.
C. Sun Mound. The heart symbolizes the soul of the Sun.
D. Ash Piles. Petrullo noted that in some versions of the rite these symbolize the lungs of Christ. I could not confirm this.
E. Water bucket and dipper.
F. Smoldering stick used to light cigarettes.
G. Tepee entrance.
H. Cross. Long axis symbolizes peyote road.
1. Road-chief, Winnebago
2. Delaware man
3. Delaware man
4. Shawnee man
5. Shawnee woman (4's wife)
6. Delaware man
7. Ego
8. Ego's wife
9. Sioux man
10. Sioux woman (9's wife)
11. Fire-chief, Delaware
12. Delaware man
13. Delaware man
14. Delaware sponsor
15. Winnebago woman (16's wife)
16. Winnebago man
17. Drum-chief, Sioux

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346
795
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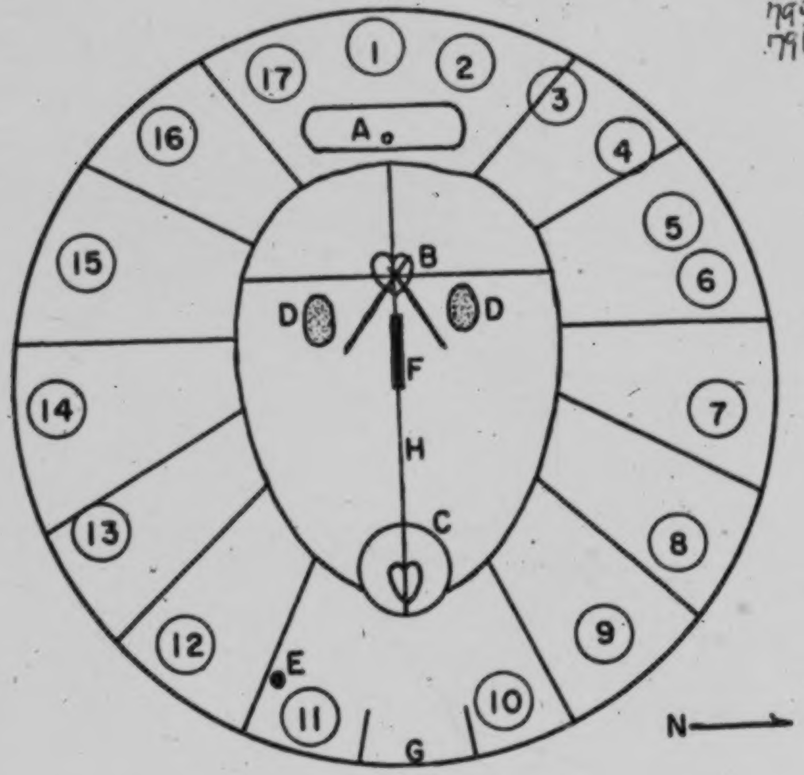
Figure 1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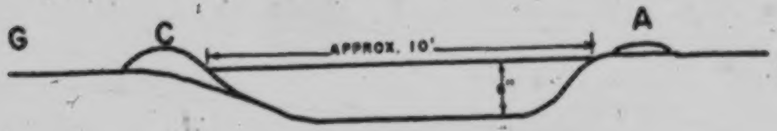
TOP VIEW


G
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APPROX. 10'
A

ELEVATION

276 195 796 made a full circuit of the tepee. Many of the participants pressed the sage lightly to various parts of their bodies before passing it along. The road-chief then passed corn husks and Bull Durham tobacco in the same direction, everyone rolling a cigarette. These cigarettes were lit from the smoldering stick which was kept in readiness to the east of the fire. After the cigarettes had been smoked in silence, they were collected by the fire-chief. The butts were placed on the altar. Peyote was then passed in the same clockwise fashion; the road-chief directed that four buttons be taken, either two dried and two green, or four of a kind. Peyote tea was also passed, some individuals smearing their body, face, and hair with the tea, as well as drinking it.

[782] When the peyote had completed the clockwise circuit, and as the participants were going through the ordeal of eating it, the road-chief prayed. He then began the opening song, holding a gourd rattle in his [533 534] right hand and the peyote staff in his left, the drum-chief accompanying him on the drum. After four songs were sung the road-chief passed the staff and gourd rattle to the man on his left, accepted the drum from the drum-chief, and drummed for the man on his left, who sang four songs. After each set of four songs, the gourd rattle and staff were passed in a clockwise direction to the next man who sang a set of four songs, the previous singer becoming the drummer. The singing and drum accompaniment continued until midnight. Between sets of songs some individuals asked for peyote and others asked for water. The water was kept by the fire-chief's side in an ordinary bucket. Occasionally someone would leave the tepee, first getting permission from the road-chief. On re-entering, which was only permissible be- [783 237 412] tween sets of songs, the fire-chief cleansed and purified these people by brushing them from the head and shoulders down the arms to the fingers with an eagle feather fan. They then went around the north side of the fire to the altar, where they touched "Father Peyote," and the road-chief brushed them in a similar manner with another eagle feather fan. Then they returned to their places.

About midnight the fire-chief raked the ashes from the fire for the first time. He did this by moving the burning sticks eastward, taking a special peeled stick about six feet long and smoothing out the embers. After they were smoothed, another stick, somewhat longer than the first, was used to divide the ashes along the long axis of the cross, the ashes being formed into two neat piles on either side of the fire. After this was accomplished the fire was returned to its original position, built up, and the whole depression was swept from west to east

with an ordinary kitchen broom. After midnight the ashes were removed 276
from the fire whenever a considerable quantity had accumulated. 795
796

The road-chief prayed, peyote was passed, and the songs began 276
again. The throb of the drum and the songs were interrupted only 755
occasionally; someone would ask for peyote, a person would mumble, 795
and once one of the Winnebagos (No. 16, Fig. 1) asked the road- 796
chief for permission to attempt a cure of his wife's swollen feet. This request was granted. The Winnebago walked around the fireplace and altar in a clockwise direction and cedar needles were thrown on the fire. He "caught" the smoke in a feather and dipped it into a cup of water which he had in readiness. He then brushed the feather over the woman's legs, concentrating on her feet. He drew a faintly glowing ember from the fire, took the ash into his mouth, and spit the ash into the ash pile nearest him. He then vigorously sucked the patient's feet.

Also early in the morning the Delaware sponsor asked the road- 276
chief if she could pray for herself and her family. He assented. Standing 795
next to the altar, she smoked a corn husk cigarette and, with tears 796
streaming down her cheeks, related first in English and then in Delaware the story of her illness, her unhappiness, and her desire for the good health of her family. A little later a woman (No. 10 in Fig. 1) [533]
asked if she might be allowed to sing. Permission being given, she sang the customary four songs, her husband drumming for her.

At dawn the road-chief announced that the drum was going around for the last time. Following this last round the sponsor, her husband and young daughter (who had awakened and come into the tepee) stood up. The road-chief cast cedar needles upon the fire and brushed the entire bodies of the family with his eagle feather fan in the customary way. He then prayed. After they had resumed their seats the road-chief prayed again, following which candy and crackers were passed. The meeting was closed by the assemblage reciting the Lord's [823]
Prayer. The fire-chief rose and went around the tepee in the clockwise direction shaking everyone's hand and congratulating them on a successful meeting. The person on his left followed him in a like manner, and so on until everybody had shaken hands with everyone else and the tepee was emptied. Coffee was made and the participants relaxed in the yard and talked until the noon meal, after which the group dispersed.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to convey the attitude of peyotists 276
and the atmosphere of a peyote meeting by means of a description 781
of what happens during the course of the night. Perhaps the general 795
796

276 attitude is best summed up as one of intense emotion and reverence.
781 It could hardly be otherwise, since any individual may come face to
775 face with supernatural powers during the course of the ceremony.
796 Even if he does not, he has come to the ceremony in the sincere belief
that he can and will get help in solving the most serious of life's problems.
This precludes a profane attitude. I can only echo Petrullo
(1934: 88) who said that the atmosphere of the ceremony was "... accompanied
by the deepest feeling of reverence and awe and peace that
it has been my lot to have witnessed either among primitive people or
Christian groups engaged in worshipping their God."

Peyote is of course the focal point of the peyote meeting, but peyote
276 itself is not worshipped. Informants stress this again and again, probably
795 because they have so frequently been attacked by Whites and
778 Christian Indians on this point. Peyote is both a symbol of the supernatural
forces being worshipped and a sacrament. For the Delaware
peyotist it is a means of establishing contact with the supernatural
world and of securing a personally satisfactory working relationship
with the spirit forces. While Peyote is the most important supernatural
[776] natural force present, it is not the only one. The spiritual forces of
Sun, Moon, Fire, and others are there. Their importance and even
their existence depends upon individual interpretation (Fig. 1).

276 The outward emphasis of Delaware peyote meetings is upon curing.
The stated purpose of the meeting I have described was to assist in the
755 cure of the sponsor, and there was a shamanistic curing rite performed
795 during the course of the evening. It should also be pointed out
778 that many peyotists are eager to relate how peyote has cured them of
various diseases. It would be a mistake, however, to regard Big Moon
peyotism as merely a curing rite, or even to think of it as primarily so.
Peyote is regarded as a spirit force through which men can approach
the omnipotent supernatural power or powers. Informants sometimes
equate peyote with Jesus and say that White men use the "Jesus road
to God" while the "Indian takes the Peyote Road."

BIG MOON PEYOTISM—THEN AND NOW

778 Unfortunately Petrullo did not attend a Big Moon meeting with the
276 Delawares near Dewey, but did participate in a Big Moon meeting of
the Delawares at Anadarko. Normally there are many minor divergencies
795 between meetings and tepee arrangements because there is no
priesthood or dogmatic creed. As Petrullo (1934: 31) said, "A religion
that insists that each individual can learn its doctrines only through
personal experience with its gods must necessarily exist in a variable

[P.34, B]

581 Divorce and family instability were
common; many children were raised by
586 mother surrogates. "Owing to instability
of the family relationship, children are
often neglected."[9] The father was absent,
581 hunting, fishing, fighting, trading, or
855 attending treaties during most of the year;
what discipline there was fell to the hand
of the mother, who was considered to
● 796 "own" the children.[10] During one of the
annual calendar of ceremonies, young
861 children were chased by a man dressed in
a bear-skin, who threatened to punish them
for misdeeds (of which the parents kept
him informed from year to year) by carrying
them away in a bag full of snakes.[11]
[776] This "Mask Spirit" was considered to be
the "Guardian of the Game" and also
promoted the fertility of the corn; in other
words, was the symbol of the food provider.[12]
855 The boys were able to escape from
the mother's supervision as soon as they
were able to get about to play at hunting
and fighting; but the girls were kept around
754 the house to help the mother at work.[13]
When a child died, an old woman was
often accused of having bewitched it.[14]

155 It would seem that the mother-figure
593 remained a symbol of possible delights
which could not be secured on demand, a
symbol of diffused frustration, of withheld
benefits and hidden hostility, to the
Delaware, and the source of his generalized,
if inhibited, aggressiveness; and that the
father-figure stood on the horizon, so to
speak, as a powerful, friendly being, but
one too remote and too aloof to be depended
upon.

EMOTIONAL ATTACHMENTS IN MATURITY

584 The ideal in marriage was for a young
man to fall in love with a girl. His family
would present his suit; she would accept
[585] him by accepting the presents he sent, and
come to live with him; and they would live
happily and faithfully ever after. The

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9. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 21.
10. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 14.
11. Harrington, 1938, pp. 52-53, 113.
12. Ibid.; Harrington, 1921.
13. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 16.
14. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 128.

[P.37/B]

626 ness was accomplished, not by a fear of
authority, but by everyone's fear of wounding
someone else's self-esteem and thereby
laying himself open to aggression. In order
not to antagonize another, the individual
had to be very circumspect in his behavior
and avoid showing his own aggressive
motives. There were a variety of institutionalized
techniques which functioned
to forestall possible antagonism-arousing
situations. "They are not quarrelsome, and
are always on their guard, so as not to
offend each other," said Heckewelder, and
Zeisberger made similar observations.[39]
Swearing was unknown (although obscenity
[831] was not tabooed).[40] Persons suspected
of ill-doing were not accused openly;
public or private disapproval was communicated
by subtle allusions or by the
recital of a "dream."[41] Strangers and visitors
[609] were always treated politely; and negative
replies to embassies from other communities
were couched in ambiguous terms so that
the matter was shelved rather than
576 contended over.[42] An elaborate code of
521 etiquette governed the men's talk. "Their
common conversation turns upon hunting
or the news of the day. Matter that has
no foundation in fact may be drawn into
conversation, and even though all may be
aware of this, the narration continues
uninterrupted. They may laugh now and
again but they will listen attentively. No
one interrupts another. When one has
finished another begins. They never put
any one publicly to blush; they are polite
to each other and enjoy being politely
treated. They like to be regarded as worthy
people even though they may be the
opposite. They are pleased to know that
● 796 they are liked."[43] Religious observances
776 (such as the periodic obligation to give a
dance for a sacred mask) were performed
under an almost obsessive fear that
negligence, by offending the supernatural
owner, would call down an indefinite but

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39. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 145-146; Zeisberger 1778, p. 115-116.
40. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 85.
41. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 120.
42. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 150.
43. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104; Zeisberger 1778, 115-116.

[P.38,A]

776 [796] [325] crippling revenge.[44] Even animals, (for example, the bear) had to be conceptualized as quasi-human beings engaged in war with the Indians to legitimize their killing.[45]

ANTICIPATION OF AGGRESSION

626 156 In view of these elaborate cultural devices for avoiding situations where aggressions might come to the surface, either in one's own self or in others, we might expect to find considerable anxiety in everyone over the suspicion that through some slip he might have aroused the hostility of an unknown enemy, especially since in every person there seems to have been a large amount of diffused aggression which could easily be projected onto other [754] people. The fear of witchcraft, for instance, was universal and demoralizing.[46] Lindestrom described the Delawares as "mistrustful;"[47] and both Zeisberger and [154] Heckewelder remarked on the elaborate institutions which functioned to deflect possible aggression.[48] Parents explained their reluctance to discipline children by [861] saying that "the children might remember it against them and avenge themselves when they have attained to maturity."[49] (Zeisberger said that he knew of some cases where children *did* threaten to punish their parents for indignities suffered in childhood.)[50]

TECHNIQUES FOR EXPRESSING AGGRESSION

154 All these mechanisms indicate that the typical Delaware individual harbored within himself exceptionally uncomfortable aggressive impulses which he was afraid to focus on anyone for fear of counter-aggression. The eruption of these aggressions periodically shattered the equable facade of social behavior. "They are able to control their desires and passions," observed Zeisberger, "but once given free

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[44] Speck, 1931, pp. 39-44.
[45] Wallace, 1949.
[46] Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 239-240.
[47] Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 191-192.
[48] Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104; Zeisberger 1778, pp. 115-116.
[49] Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
[50] Ibid.

[P. 12, B]

Sinew Stones

172 In the Milford area it is possible on
324 occasion to recover egg-shaped (and sized) pebbles almost completely encircled by
412 shallow pecked grooves. Ritchie in the Bell-Philhower report, p. 175, refers to them as "partly grooved thick pebble sinkers". The present writer has never found this explanation of their use to be entirely satisfactory (Plate 7, Nos. 1 and 3.)

Stone Faces

172 Under the category of rough stone it is
324 proper to include the stone faces which
532 now and then turn up on Minsi sites. To the writer's knowledge, at least five of these have been found in the Milford area, one splendid specimen from Minisink Island (Plate 10) being presently in the collection of Mr. Rudolph Ludwig. According to
[796] numerous authorities, these rough-tone effigies were used in the Lenni-Lenapé Big House Ceremony.

POLISHED STONE ARTIFACTS

Celts

172 The inventory of Minsi polished stone
324 artifacts is not large. Most prominent in
this category is the so-called 'thick-polled
412 celt' (Plate 9, Nos. 1 and 3). It is to be observed that some of these are almost restagular in cross-section, others more nearly oval.

Small Chisels

Well made "miniature celts" in the form of small narrow chisels or of small pebbles with a celt-like edge are among the most interesting and unusual Minsi artifacts. Some (Plate 1, No. 8) are beautifully made. In my opinion, this type of implement is important in the identification of Minsi-occupied sites. Several years ago the writer published in the "Pennsylvania Archaeologist" (Vol. IX, No. 3) a brief discussion of the possible use of these small tools. In that article it was suggested

000 all went to heaven. They have one religious
796 festival at which the Gum-win Dance is performed. This is the great religious dance. This is held once a year every fall, after the corn harvest is gathered. The festival lasts seven days. At this festival they have a number of old dances, which are still maintained among the Delawares. This Festival is called the Gum-win, from the dance. This is held for the purpose of returning thanks to the Great Spirit. They have a feast. Men, about 12, go out beforehand to hunt, and get game for the feast, particularly the deer. There is a class of persons
624 whose business it is to appoint the time for
796 holding this council, to prepare the feast, and supervise the business of the festival. They are both men and women, but Lemuel could not give me the name by which they are distinguished.

Marriage

582 Near relatives are not allowed to marry. First and second cousins are within the forbidden degrees; but third cousins under our system are allowed to marry. The names used by the several tribes are used in common. This seems to be the preferable conclusion. A young lad at the Mission told me
[614] that those of the same subdivision of the same tribe can intermarry if not too near of kin, but the fact is that they are all of near kin.

Succession of [Head] Chiefs

614 Upon the death of a head chief of the Tur-
622 tle Tribe, the three other subdivisions meet
623 in council to agree upon a successor who must be of the same subdivision of the tribe with the deceased, and is either a brother of the deceased or a sister's son. The second chief has the first speech, and the War Chief last, and enumerates the persons who

[p 52(c)]

775 of the souls of those who were punished by
825 the evil spirit, the wreck, or fragments into
which they were cut up were turned into
mosquitoes and such evil creatures.

776 Bad spirits are believed to pass by about
787 day break and good spirits are believed to
pass along about dark. For this reason boys
are often sent to bed without supper, that
they may commune with or be visited by
[785] good spirits, the fasting state being thought
to be favorable to such communion, and for
the same reason are often compelled to get
up before day break that the evil spirits may
not obtain or exercise any wicked influence
upon them.

776 I am told that the Shawnee Female Great
821 Spirit is in reality the moon, and is worshipped
as our Grand Mother or something
of that sort; and Isaac Johnny Cake who
mentioned this [to] me also said that the
Great Spirit of the Delawares was represented
and believed to be a brother of the
Sun, and that the Moon was the Grand
Mother of the Great Spirit; and young Toucey,
the Stockbridge, says that there is
[171] some evidence of a [?] in of the sun in
the worship of several of the Indian races,
including his own. The Iroquois return
thanks to the sun for heating the earth and
to the moon for cooling it, but this does not
show a sun worship or anything like it.
[115] William Adams is to correspond with me
on the religious system of the Delawares,
and I hope to find out something definite
about it.

Gum-mween

796 This festival or annual worship of the Delawares
as explained by William Adams and
of which he is to write to me more fully, is
quite interesting. They believe unless they
[241] observe it once a year their crops will fail,
and they will lose the favor of the Great
Spirit.

796 Spirit. It lasts 6 days. It may be repeated by another person or family for a second 6 days, and so on until the feelings are satisfied. It has been known to last a month. The meeting is called by one of a certain class, who I presume correspond with the Keepers of the Faith of the Iroquois. They are called A-la-pa-cte, meaning *Dreamers*. The [346] people meet in a large house erected on purpose for this worship and used for nothing else. They build two council fires in the [614] house, and the people assemble by tribes, the Turtles by themselves, the Wolves by themselves and the Turks by themselves. They use belts of wampum and have many ceremonies. It would seem that this council or religious meeting was called by some one [346] person. The door of the house of worship must open to the east.

796 533 When they are assembled two singers [?] sit down to two dried and rolled up deer skins, with sticks in their hands to beat time. The leader, who is stationed on the right hand side of the door, gets up and [534] shaking a turtle shell rattle, comes in extemporizing verses which are adapted to the set tune of his choosing, to relate his dream. As he relates his dream in music, he dances, they sing the same time and beat time, and all who enter the dance, dance [535] the religious dance which altogether is called the Gum-mween. This is repeated day by day for six days. But the leaders change. When one has told his dream, he hands his rattle to the next one, who in like singing relates his dream in words of his own making, but sung in an old well known tune of his own choosing.

796 [262] Before the festival 12 hunters are sent out for deer's meat, as no other meat is allowed. About 9 each morning this meat is served to all. At sundown each day they have an exhortation from the oldest wise

796 man of the nation. Once during the six days,
[782] about an hour after night fall, they burn
incense by throwing on the fire in the cen-
[824] ter of the house cedar branches, which fills
the house with smoke and then ascends to
the Great Spirit. If no one repeats the wor-
ship, or when all are done, the people all go
out in Indian file, and facing the east, in a
[782] united voice they thank the Great Spirit for
sparing their lives through the year, and in-
voke him to spare them until the next Gum-
mween.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7 ●
Winnebago NP12

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

Element	Occurrence																
	H T	K-A	Ko	Com	Ka	Ab S	De 1	De 1	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 1	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tao
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
2. "Cane" 3-5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+		•−	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	+
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	−	•+	−	+	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	(+)	+		(−)	+					(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
10. Decorated	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
16. Only after midnight	+		+	+	−	−	+	•−	−	−	+	+	•−	+	−	+	+
17. To accompany singer holding staff			+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		+	
20. Binding decorated		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		+	
21. Passed around	+		−	+	(−)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
22. Held with staff while singing	+		•+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23. Individual fans also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24. Only after midnight	+		+	−	(+)	−	+	•−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+
28. At special morning ritual	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		−	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

(Continued on next page)

C
D
W
171
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796 ●
[534]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Delaware NM7 ●

C
D
171
795
796
[534]
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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	12 T	E-A	Kio	Com	Kis	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WBS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	•+		−	−		−	+	+		−	−	−		+		−	
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	(+)	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	•+	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
41. 7 stones represent days			+	−		−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
43. Star significant	+	+	+			•(+)					•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		•−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
55. Usually by cedarman	+	•−	+	+	+	•−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	•−	−	+
59. In oak leaves	+	−	+	+	−	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Delaware NM7 ●

[A]

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	(+)	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	
63. Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
*65. Decorated with white lines	−	−	−		(−)		−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
69. Form cross	+	•+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	•+	•+	+		−	
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		•+	+		(+)	•−	+	•+	−		+	•−	•−	+	•(+)	•−	
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	•+	+	(+)	•+	•+	•+		+	+	•+	•+	+	•	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	
78. 3 assistants	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
79. 4 or more assistants		−	•−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	−	−	−	−	−	−		•+	•−	−	•+	•−	•−	•+	−	•−	•−
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	•−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	−	+	−	(−)	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	

(Continued on next page)

C
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796 ●
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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche NO6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7 ●
Winnebago NP12

Co
Cr
D
W
171
795
796
[783]
[778]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab 8	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Conducts people in and out	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	•+	+	+	–	+	+
94. All bathe before attending meeting	+	+	•+	–		(–)		•–		•–	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
96. In open			•–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	•–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+		–	–	+	•+	•–	+	+	+	+
104. Old methods used to start fire		–	•+	–		+	+	+		–	•–	•–	–	+	+	–	
105. 4 sticks on fire			(+)	•–	(–)	+	•–	•–	–	•–	+	•+	–	+	+	+	•–
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	•–	•–	–	+	–	+	•–
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	•+	+		•(–)		–		+	+	+	+	+		+	+
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
112. Chief drummer second		+	+	+		+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
113. Cedarman third		–	+	+		–	+	–		+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
114. Men (before women and children)		–	+	+	+	(+)		–		+	•+	•–	+	+	+	+	
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	–	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
119. Women, either side, near entrance		–	•+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
120. Separation of men and women		–	–	+	(–)	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	•–	•+	+	–	–	

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche ND6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7 ●
Winnebago NP12

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	
122. Women sit behind men		−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	R	+	+	+	+
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−	
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−	
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
137. Chewed	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	(+)	−			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	•+	+	+	−	•−	+	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	•+	•+	+	+	−				−	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		•+	+	(−)	−				−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+		−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	−	(+)	•+	+	−		−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	•−	+	+	+	
150. Worshippers incensed	+	•+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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[276]
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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Delaware NM7 ●

C
D
171
795
796
[533] ●

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	ID T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	Ne C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tao
151. 4 times	+		+	−		+				−	•−	+	•−	+		+	
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+			+	+	+		−	+	+	•+	+	•+	−	
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
161. Rule against women singing	+	•−	+	+		(+)	+	+	−	+	+	•−	+	−	•+	•−	
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		•+	•−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
167. 4 sticks added							−				(+)	(+)	−	+		+	
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	+		−	+
171. 4 times	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+		−	+
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+			+	+	•−			+	+	+	+	+	−	+
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
174. By women		−	−	•+	•−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Comanche N06
Delaware NM7 ●

Element	Occurrence																
	12 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kis	Ab 8	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	•(+)	−	+	+	+	+
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•−	•+		+	+	+	+			•(+)	+	−	+	•(+)	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	−		−	−	−		−	(+)	+	−	•+	−	−	
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women			•+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	•+	−	+	
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		•+	−	−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	•−	+	−	+	+		−	
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+

(Concluded on next page)

C
D
171
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796 ●
[276]
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C
D
171
795
●796
[264]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrences																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ab 3	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		–	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	+
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	–	•+
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	+
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	+	+	–	+
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	–	+	–	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	•–	–	•+	–	–	–	+
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	
222. Wash before eating			–	–	–	–		•+		–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•–
224. Before eating	+		+	–		+		•+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	•–	+	+	–	+	+	+	
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+		+	
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	–	+	•+			•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+		–	
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+		–	
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+						+	+	+	+	–	
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	•+	+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+		+	
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
236. Sun greeted	+		•–	–	(–)	–		•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	•+	–	–	(–)	+	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		•–	•+	+	–	+				+	•–	–	–	–	–	–	

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[B]

Element	Occurrence																
	D T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	Da 1	Da 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	+	•+	+	
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+		+	
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+						+		•−	+
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+	+		+			+	+		+	+
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−			+	+	•	+	
265a. (See note)															•		
										[276]	[574]	[571]	796 ●	795	171	D	C

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NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

C
1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

D
2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

171
795
● 796
3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celluloid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus).
C [237] Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

C [533]
9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

D
13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

[533]
16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound toegether is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

D [534]
24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

D [782] [823]
26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East; prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

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27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).

28. Gos: See note 265a. C

30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin). D 171

32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).

33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget). 745 746 ●

35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf). C [534]

36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).

37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).

38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget). D [237]

40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget). C D [823]

43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf). C [823]

44. Gos: See note 265a.

46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).

48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).

50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).

51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).

52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).

53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).

55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).

56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).

57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).

58. Gos: See note 265a.

59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin). C

60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget). [276]

61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).

62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.

63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgʷeši—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

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64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not redecorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwabin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 60). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 86. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; *often* done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

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Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf). C

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre). D

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99. 171 795

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf). 796 ● D [778]

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98. D [823]

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 50, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kic: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kic: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

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C 125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

D 127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber).
171 Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

795 130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

●796 132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward
D "chief peyote" (Voget).

[276] 133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road
[782] chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as
D many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the
[533] drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

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165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus). D 171 795 796 ●

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget). D

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93). [532]

173-174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kic: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kic: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kic: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S. D

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget). [276] [782]

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber). D

212-213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win: [264]

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Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223–225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

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236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251–265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154–58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: damē apē (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form nï'mē apē (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

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264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre).

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kie: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Gos: Simply called the path of life (Malouf).

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940.

PROGRAM: NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH

52D

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting-it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.